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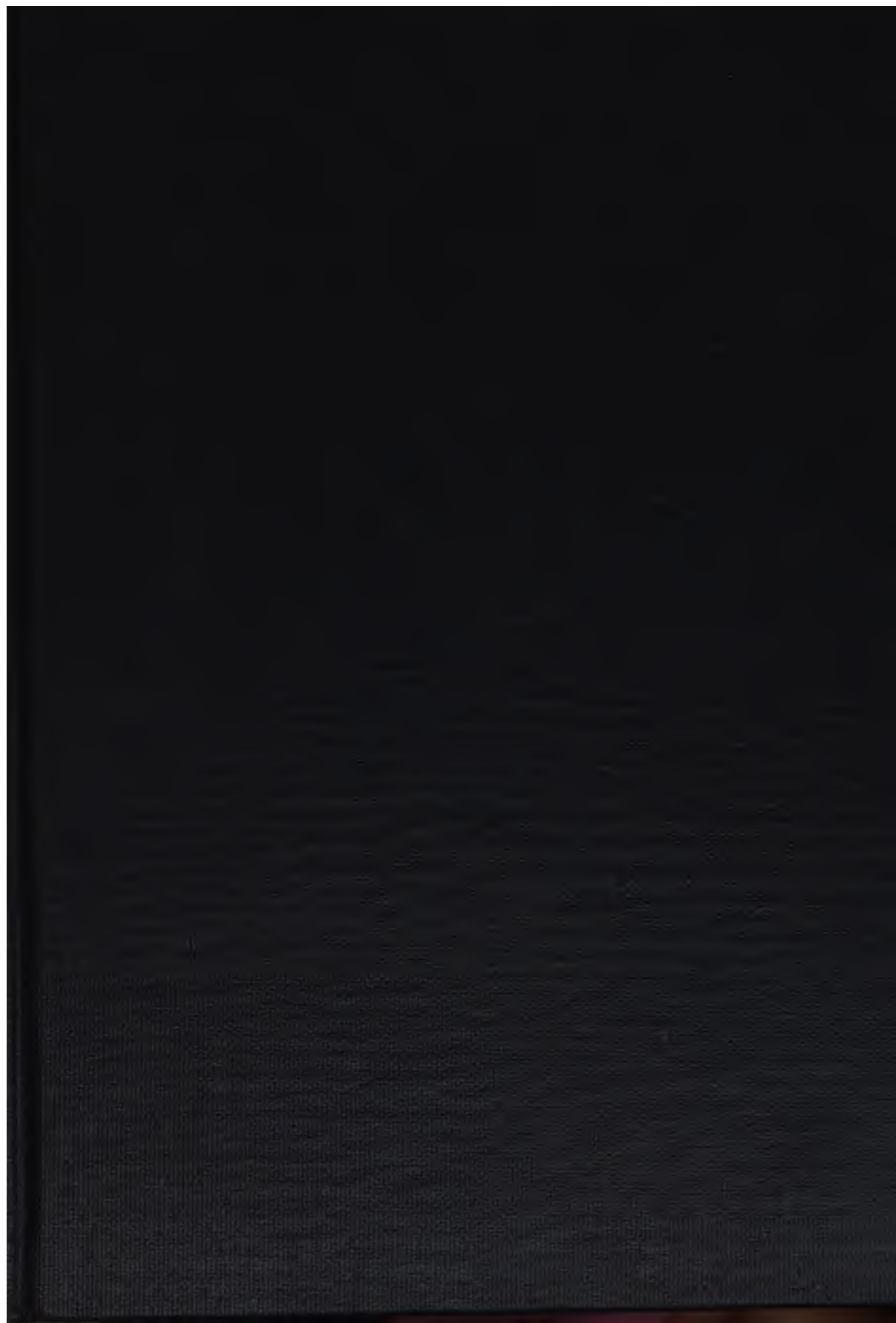
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Peter Paul Rubens

Faneuil Hall
And Faneuil Hall Market

OR

PETER FANEUIL AND HIS GIFT

BY

ABRAM ENGLISH BROWN

Member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society

Author of "History of Town of Bedford," "Beneath
Old Roostrees," "Beside Old Hearthstones,"

"John Hancock, His Book," etc.



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FANEUIL HALL AND FANEUIL HALL MARKET.

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Contents

CHAPTER I

PAGE

The Huguenot Persecution. French Refugees a Valuable Accession to New England Settlers. Description of Boston in 1687. Settlement at New Oxford. Description of New Rochelle, New York. The French Huguenot Church in Boston. The Coming of the Faneuil Family. The Huguenot Builder of the Old Powder House at Somerville	1
---	----------

CHAPTER II

Faneuil Account Books. Benjamin Faneuil's Children settle in Boston. Merchandise that stocked the Markets at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century. Faneuil Merchants suffer from Piracy. Marriage of Faneuil Sisters with noted Boston Families. Faneuils are Founders of Trinity Church in Boston. Freaks of Andrew Faneuil. Cupid disturbs the Family Plan. The Banished Benjamin. Peter is called to the Tremont Street Mansion. Commercial Difficulties. Faneuil Investments	11
--	-----------

CHAPTER III

Rectors of Trinity Church. The Tender Side of Andrew Faneuil's Nature. An Orphan in the Home. Death of Andrew Faneuil. Mourning Rings and Gloves. Boston's Most Costly Funeral. The Last Will and its Secrets. Provision for Poor of Boston. Copies of Will sent to Foreign Lands. Peter Faneuil becomes the Merchant Prince of Boston. He re-stocks the Faneuil Mansion. Peter Faneuil sells Fish and buys a Negro Boy to serve him	22
---	-----------

CHAPTER IV

Peter Faneuil and his Sister Mary Anne send to London for Wearing Apparel and Luxuries not in Boston Market. Glimpses into the Faneuil Dining Room. Faneuil Equipage. A Drive out of Town to Distinguished Provincial Homes. Shrewd Management of the Merchant. Generous, but Exacting	34
---	-----------

CONTENTS

CHAPTER V

	PAGE
Experience of Peter Faneuil as a Merchant. Faneuils have Credit in All the Trading Ports of the World. John Jekyll Collector of the Port of Boston. Evading Duties. Sends to England for a Clerk who "wrights and ciphers." A Venture in Negroes	40

CHAPTER VI

Peter Faneuil the Jolly Bachelor. Intimacy of Faneuils and Jekylls. Death of Collector Jekyll. Peter Faneuil a Business Manager. Peter the Merchant in Love. A Disappointed Bachelor. Colonel Richard Saltonstall wins the Fair Young Lady	46
--	----

CHAPTER VII

A Duel in Boston. Noted Families involved. Benjamin Woodbridge slain by Henry Phillips. Phillips's Escape to France. Professional Men intercede for the Pardon of the Murderer. New Laws against Duelling in the Province of Massachusetts Bay	56
--	----

CHAPTER VIII

Peter Faneuil's Great Interest in the Markets of the Town. Early Market Customs in England and America. Legislation in Regard to Marketing in Boston. Robert Keayne's Bequest for a Market. Three Markets established. Their Failure. Mob Law in Boston. How Family Supplies were furnished in Colonial Days	65
--	----

CHAPTER IX

Peter Faneuil's Bold Effort to have a Local Market. Leading Men petition to be heard on the Subject. Warrant for Town Meeting to act on Peter Faneuil's Offer to give a Market. Scenes of Excitement on Boston Streets and in Public Houses. Faneuil Hall an Afterthought. Peter Faneuil's Gift secured by a Majority of Seven Votes. Committee meet to stake out the Ground. John Smibert the Architect. Samuel Ruggles the Builder. Market Sentiment changes. House cheerfully accepted. Hall over the Market named. To be called Faneuil Hall forever. Resolutions of Thanks to Peter Faneuil. The Donor's Picture procured. Faneuil Arms bought for the Hall. First Public Meeting in Faneuil Hall. Joshua Blanchard a Famous Brick Mason. Peter Faneuil goes to Market for Family Supplies. Other Public Buildings of Note	79
---	----

CONTENTS

v

CHAPTER X

	PAGE
Faneuil Hall a Timely Gift. Concerts in Faneuil Hall in 1747. 'Lec- tion Day Feasts. Early Days of Faneuil Hall Market. First Lease of a Stall. Market becomes Unpopular. Early Stallkeepers. Faneuil Hall Market destroyed by Fire in 1761. Newspaper Reports. Rebuilt by Means of a Lottery. Onesiphorus Tileston Contractor to rebuild the House. Scenes previous to Opening of Revolution	89

CHAPTER XI

Death of Peter Faneuil. Public Honors paid to the Memory of Boston's First Great Benefactor. Return of the Banished Benjamin. Obitu- ary from <i>News Letter</i> . Funeral Oration delivered by John Lovell in Faneuil Hall. Peter Faneuil's Estate. The Appraisal of the Largest Estate in Boston. Benjamin Faneuil the Administrator. The Accumulated Wealth quickly scattered	101
---	-----

CHAPTER XII

Faneuil Hall Market a Monument to Peter Faneuil. The Name of Faneuil Extinct in Boston. Faneuil Heirs. The Faneuils were Members of the First Paper-manufacturing Company in Massachu- setts. Benjamin Faneuil settles in Brighton. Pleasures of Peter the Second. Alliance with the Bethune Family. General Wash- ington and the Faneuils. Faneuils were Loyalists, and left the Country with the King's Army. Peter Faneuil's Portrait mutilated in Faneuil Hall. Faneuils in Banishment	115
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII

Faneuil Hall Town Meetings. Named Cradle of Liberty. First Intima- tion of the Revolution. Protest against Stamp Act. Festivities at the Repeal. Portraits of Friends in Parliament procured and hung in Hall. Gratitude for Preservation of Hall. Loss of Portraits during the Siege. List of Famous Meetings in Faneuil Hall. Gen- eral Howe and Boston Negroes. Count D'Estaing and Other French Officers. Boston Merchants entertain the French. Wash- ington's Birthday celebrated in 1784. African Preacher in Faneuil Hall in 1789. Lafayette Dinner in 1784. Washington Banquet in 1789. John Adams honored, 1797. 'Lecture Day Dinner. School Visitors dined. The Grasshopper. Earthquake of 1755. Cele- bration of 1793	123
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV

	PAGE
Faneuil Hall Market through the Revolution. Stallkeepers and the Tories. Street Lamps set up in Boston. Tallow needed for the Manufacture of Candles. Drovers of Sheep from Connecticut for the Poor. Supplies from the Country Towns. Stalls occupied Gratis. Market Regulations after the Evacuation. Stallkeepers of 1776. Relief allowed by the General Court. Changes in Market Customs. Rules as to the Quantity of Meat which should be consumed in a Day. The Meagreness of the Market. The Fish Market. Struggle with Forestallers. Rules adopted. Cage for Criminals set up in the Market-place. Opening of Charles River Bridge in 1786 affected the Market	139

CHAPTER XV

The Bulfinch Faneuil Hall, 1806-1898. Middlesex Canal affects Boston. Enlargement of Faneuil Hall. Charles Bulfinch the Architect. Smibert's Plans retained. Action against British Aggression. Patriotic Meetings. Festivity because of Victory of "Old Ironsides." Independence Day Orations. Great Supply of Punch in 1810. Hall too Small for Town Meetings. Town Government changed to that of a City. Famous Men and Meetings in Faneuil Hall since Boston became a City. Faneuil Hall a Post-office. Ornaments of the Hall. Whittier's Poem, "Faneuil Hall." Faneuil Hall Oratory. The Fireproof Faneuil Hall of 1899	152
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI

The Rebuilding of 1898-1899. The Architect, the Builder, and the Modern Structure	165
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII

Mayor Josiah Quincy's Great Enterprise. Granite Building erected. Plate deposited under Corner-stone. The New House named Faneuil Hall Market. Stalls under Faneuil Hall abandoned. How Stalls were selected and assigned. Description of Faneuil Hall Market of 1826. New Faneuil Hall Market opened in 1858	171
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII

Early Market Laws. Piepowder Court. The Market Official and his Duties. Succession of Market Clerks or Superintendents. George E. McKay appointed as Superintendent in 1877 by Mayor Prince	189
---	-----

CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER XIX

	PAGE
The Market and Boston's Days of Celebration. Reception to President Washington in 1789. The Introduction of Water in 1848. Semi-centennial of Opening of Faneuil Hall Market, 1876 . . .	201

CHAPTER XX

Faneuil Hall and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company . . .	207
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI

The Custodians of Faneuil Hall. The Market House Investment. Progress in Marketing in the Various Departments . . .	215
---	-----

List of Illustrations

	PAGE
PETER FANEUIL	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE FANEUIL LETTER BOOKS	12
FANEUIL MANSION	28
GRAVESTONE OF BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE	57
HON. DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE	59
FANEUIL HALL AND THE FEATHER STORE	88
SAMUEL ADAMS	92
FACSIMILE OF LOTTERY TICKET	98
FANEUIL HALL AND MARKET OF REVOLUTION	100
JOHN LOVELL	105
FANEUIL TOMB	116
PETER FANEUIL, FROM PAINTING BY SARGENT	132
THE GRASSHOPPER	137
CHARLES BULFINCH	154
FANEUIL HALL IN 1806	156
CLOCK GIVEN BY CHILDREN OF BOSTON	161
EAGLE	161
FANEUIL HALL WITH SHAMBLES	164
JOSIAH QUINCY, MAYOR 1896-1899	166
AN ENTRANCE DOOR	167
A WINDOW	168
A CORNER OF THE HALL	169
JOSIAH QUINCY, MAYOR 1823-1828	172
FANEUIL HALL MARKET, BUILT IN 1826	181

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
INTERIOR OF MARKET	183
FANEUIL HALL MARKET FROM THE HARBOR, IN 1826	187
SUPERINTENDENT MCKAY HOLDING COURT	190
SUPERINTENDENT GEORGE E. MCKAY	196
MCKAY BADGE	197
MAYOR COBB AND FOUR ORIGINAL OCCUPANTS OF FANEUIL HALL MARKET, ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY, AUGUST 26, 1876	204
FANEUIL HALL TO-DAY	214
THOMAS N. HART, MAYOR 1900	216

Faneuil Hall and Market

CHAPTER I

The Huguenot Persecution. French Refugees a Valuable Accession to New England Settlers. Description of Boston in 1687. Settlement at New Oxford. Description of New Rochelle, New York. The French Huguenot Church in Boston. The Coming of the Faneuil Family. The Huguenot Builder of the Old Powder House at Somerville.

THE name of Faneuil carries us back to the French Protestants, or Huguenots, a band of exiles who left their native land for conscience' sake, and found a place of refuge on these western shores. Poet, artist, and historian have vied with one another in the portrayal of the sacrifices, sufferings, and triumphs of the Pilgrim Fathers who breasted the storms of the Atlantic, and in December, 1620, landed on a "sterh and rock-bound coast," laying the foundation of this American republic. But there has been comparatively little said of that class of exiles who, sixty years later, impelled by similar motives, left their homes and crossed the ocean to these shores.

The Huguenots were a worthy people, and while not the pioneers of our boasted civilization, constitute an element which in its development has been welcome and beneficial. Their personal traits were needed here at the time of their enforced coming. Their buoyancy and cheerfulness served to modify the prevailing austerity, and their love for the æsthetic, which appeared in the cultivation of fruits and flowers, was soon appreciated by the earlier settlers. "They brought religious

convictions that were not the less firm because accompanied by a certain moderation and pliancy in things not held of vital importance. They brought a love for liberty, that was none the less sincere because associated with a tolerance learned in the school of suffering." Theirs is but a small feature of the history of New England, but they were a valuable accession to its early settlers, and their blood courses in many veins, and names honored in our records are traceable to the Huguenots, whose flight from France and settlement in America constitute an episode not only pathetic, but significant in its effect upon social and political life and typical New England character.

The story of their sorrows and sacrifices has been briefly told, but that of their triumphs must be found in the story of the earlier pilgrims of which it forms a component part.

During the reign of Francis I. in France, 1515-1545, certain influences were brought to bear upon society which resulted in bringing out a class of people called Protestants, because of their protest against a most unjust decree. The name later was applied to all who receded from the Church of Rome. The term "Huguenot" was applied to the Protestants of France and Holland during the reign of Henry II., son and successor of Francis I. It is of uncertain origin, but was used as a term of reproach. These Huguenots increased in number until it was claimed at the time of the death of Henry II., 1559, that they constituted one-fourth of the population of the kingdom of France.

During the reigns of Francis II., and of Charles IX. under the guardianship of his mother Catharine de' Medici, there was anything but peace; yet the Huguenots obtained the mastery of cities in almost every French province. But at length came the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, when there was a general slaughter of the Huguenots. More than thirty thousand fell by the sword.

In the west of France, on an inlet of the Bay of Biscay,

was the Huguenot stronghold, La Rochelle, which became the theatre of a civil war. After withstanding a siege of eight months, they secured a treaty of pacification in 1573.

Charles IX. died at the age of twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., who was so young that his mother Catharine had a voice in the government, but failed to establish peace. These civil and religious wars continued through the reign of Henry III., who was assassinated August 2, 1589, bringing an end to the house of Valois. Then came to the throne the King of Navarre under the title of Henry IV., who, in April, 1598, secured to the Protestants their civil rights by the Edict of Nantes, called the Edict of Peace, by which they were granted the free exercise of their religion, and given equal claims with the Catholics to all offices and dignities. They were left in possession of their fortresses, which were ceded to them for security, and they formed a sort of republic within the kingdom, where they enjoyed civil and religious liberty, and prospered until 1627, when, under the reign of Louis XIII., son and successor of Henry IV., their stronghold La Rochelle was besieged for fifteen months, and the population reduced from thirty thousand to five thousand. Through the death of Louis XIII. his son came to the throne as Louis XIV., with his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. The reign of Louis XIV. continued seventy years, and was the greatest in French history,—in the grandeur of the king, the splendor of the court, the talent of its generals and ministers, the success of its arms, and the brilliancy of its literature; but by one act he cast a shadow over it all by striking a blow from which France has never wholly recovered; namely, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the Huguenots were denied them. Then came the scattering of that most desirable class of people. Many sought refuge in England, Ireland, and Holland, and others came to America. They received kind treatment in each of their new homes, and enjoyed such pos-

sessions as they succeeded in taking with them, while many escaped only with their lives. A few came to America as early as 1662, for in October of that year the General Court granted the petition of John Touton of Rochelle in France, "doctor chirurgion," in behalf of himself and others, to inhabit here, etc. 'This doctor was in Rehoboth in 1675, but there is no evidence of his being accompanied by any of his countrymen. The first company came in 1686, and applied for permission to settle here. In granting the petition, a general order was also passed to admit "all such French Protestants that shall or may come into this his Majesty's Territory and Dominion."

These immigrants seem to have arrived in a destitute condition, and measures were taken for their relief. They had come from a temporary abode on an island under the control of the Spaniards, who had driven them out by cruel treatment, "naked and distressed." Some of them who had property were attracted to America. They did not come in "great companies," but, says Snow in "History of Boston," "during the Summer of 1686 a number of vessels arrived, having on board French refugees." By the diary of Samuel Sewall we have the following: "Thursday, July 5th. On this day Foy arrives. Several gentlemen came over with Foy, some of them with estates." Gabriel Bernon was one of those who came with Captain John Foy, but the names of others are uncertain. In October, 1687, there arrived in Boston one of the French refugees, who came prospecting, in hopes to collect information to guide his fellow-refugees in a proposed plan of settling in America. Shurtliff has given us a translation of the prospector's report which is of interest. "The Town is built on the Slope of a little Hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The Town is almost wholly built of wooden Houses; but since there have been some ravages by Fire, building of Wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome Houses of Brick are going up. . . . You can bring with you hired Help in any

Vocation whatever ; there is absolute Need of them to till the Land. You may also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good living. . . . Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every kind of cattle, which thrive well. An Ox costs from twelve to fifteen Crowns; a Cow, eight to ten; Horses, from ten to fifty Crowns, and in Plenty. There are even wild ones in the woods, which are yours if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two Pence the Pound; Mutton, two Pence; Pork from two to three Pence, according to the Season; Flour fourteen shillings the one hundred and twelve Pounds, all bolted; Fish is very cheap, and Vegetables also; Cabbage, Turnips, Onions and Carrots abound here. . . . I am assured that the Woods are full of Strawberries in their Season, I have seen Quantities of wild Grapevine, and eaten Grapes of very good Flavor, kept by one of my Friends. There is no Doubt that the Vine will do very well; there is some little planted in the Country, which has grown. . . . The Rivers are full of Fish, and we have so great a Quantity of Sea and River Fish that no Account is made of them. There are here Craftsmen of every kind, and particularly Carpenters for the building of ships. The Day after my Arrival, I saw them put one into the Water of three hundred Tons, and since, they have two others somewhat smaller. This Town carries on a great Trade with the Islands of America and with Spain. . . . Here in Boston there are not more than twenty French Families, and they are every day diminishing."

At about this time the General Court of Massachusetts granted a tract of land, eight miles square, in the Nipmuck country, New Oxford, to a company organized for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Robert Thompson was at the head of the enterprise, and was eager to interest newcomers, and we find that some of these exiles early set out on the jour-

ney of fifty miles inland to make homes in the wilderness. It was a severe experiment for them; they were a people tenderly reared and unaccustomed to hardships, and were of refined and cultivated minds. Gabriel Bernon was one who went to Oxford, and was a leader of his countrymen in the enterprise, which for a time promised success; but at length troubles with the Indians met them, and those who survived abandoned the settlement after about ten years of trial. They returned to Boston and joined their countrymen, who had become well established in the seaport. Another company located in New York, making a settlement about twenty miles out from the city, which they named New Rochelle in remembrance of the early home which they could not forget.

In each of these places appears the name of Faneuil. In Oxford, the name of Benjamin Faneuil is found, and in a list of the French nation admitted into the Bay Colony by the Governor and Council, on February 1, 1691, are the names of Benjamin, John, and Andrew Faneuil.

As the Faneuils were among the fortunate ones, in having property which they brought to this country, it is possible that Benjamin had a financial interest in both Oxford and New York. The fact that he married Anne Bureau, a French lady of that place, and set up a home in New York very soon after the abandonment of the Oxford enterprise, points to the conclusion that he preferred that locality to either of the Massachusetts settlements and that he there spent the remainder of his life. On a horizontal slab in Trinity churchyard, in the city of New York, is to be read, "Here lies buried the body of Mr. Benjamin Faneuil of the city of Rochelle, France, who died the 31st of March 1719 aged 60 years and 8 months."

There are some trifling reminders of the sojourn of the Huguenots in the town of Oxford, and through the faithfulness of Mary de Witte Freeland in "The Records of Oxford" that exile band has a place in recorded history.

FRENCH HUGUENOT CHURCH IN BOSTON 7

O. W. Holmes has written, "There is no town in New England which can show more interesting localities than Oxford. The French exiles rested there, as a flight of tropical birds might on one of our New England pines, and one can hardly visit the place that knew them, without looking for some relics of their sojourn as he would hunt for an empty nest or a painted feather after the bird has flown."

Boston was a more favorable locality for the emigrants, and for several years they flourished as a distinct element in the town. They mingled in business matters with those who had given them a welcome, but were reserved in ecclesiastical affairs. Their mother tongue was that of the French, and although they were Protestants, they could not assimilate with the Puritan element; hence they early formed their own church. But they kept Christmas, which so annoyed the Puritans that the immortal diarist, Samuel Sewall, recorded, "This day I spoke with Mr. Newman about his partaking with the French Church on the 25th of December on account of its being Christmas, as they abusively call it." The records of the exiles, driven out of Spanish domain, show them to have had in their number a Protestant minister, but of his service little or nothing is known. He had a successor who was not congenial and went to New York, where he was made minister of a Huguenot church on Staten Island. A third stayed at Boston a brief season and then went to New Rochelle, New York, where he was minister of the Huguenot church. But in 1696 came Rev. Pierre Daillé, who made a good record in the town, during a ministry of nearly twenty years, until his death, May 20, 1715. By his will, probated in Suffolk County, it appears that he did not favor certain customs and practices that prevailed among the Puritan element of the town, and did not hesitate to put his seal of disapproval upon them. In it he directed that "there shall be no wine at my funeral, and none of my wife's relations have mourning clothes furnished them except gloves." He, however,

drew no sectarian lines, for gloves and scarfs were to be given to all the ministers of the town, and to the Rev. Mr. Walker, of Roxbury. His ambition to build a meeting-house for his flock had not been gratified, yet he evinced his interest by giving £10 toward the enterprise in the future. His widow was to receive £350 together with his negro, Kuffy. A brother in Holland was made residuary legatee. The French Protestants purchased a lot for their meeting-house in January, 1704-1705. It was located on School House Lane, now School Street, at a point about midway between the present Parker House site and Washington Street. They were, however, not allowed to erect their house of worship for about twelve years, probably because they wanted to build of wood, which was not advisable at that period on account of fire; but they were allowed to occupy a schoolhouse for their religious services until they were able to build their house of brick.

The last minister of the French congregation was Andrew Le Mercier, who came over to the colony in 1715. Andrew Faneuil was the agent in behalf of the church, who made the arrangements to give him an annual salary of £100 in New England currency. He continued in the ministry about thirty-two years, and saw the decline of his congregation until the house of worship was sold and the record of the Huguenot church was completed.

One of the most prominent members of the French church was Andrew Faneuil, who was identified with its interests to the end of his life. He was one of the Huguenots who escaped after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had a temporary abode in Holland, where he was married. Little is known of his married life, but we have the following record:—

“The death of Mrs. Mary Catherine, wife of Mr. Andrew Faneuil, occurred in Boston July 16, 1724, a gentlewoman of extraordinary perfections both of mind and body.”

A portrait, representing Mrs. Faneuil as a beautiful woman,

THE COMING OF THE FANEUIL FAMILY 9

was brought to America and treasured in the family. The exact date of their coming to Massachusetts is not known, but his name appears on the tax list of Boston in 1691, and it is evident that he was a man of affairs in the town at that time, and possibly earlier. He was, doubtless, one of the fortunate Huguenots who, having an estate in France, had been able to take a goodly portion with him when he left his native land, and had not come empty-handed to Boston. It is evident that he made an early investment in Boston. In a petition from Oliver Noyes, dated February 20, 1709, to build a wharf from the bottom of King, now State, Street to low-water mark, it is described as follows: "Of the width of King Street, between Mr. East Aphthorp's and Mr. Andrew Faneuil's." He was soon well established in a lucrative business and the owner of large real estate interests in Boston. His warehouse was on Butler Square, out of State Street, and his mansion house, which stood on Tremont Street opposite King's Chapel Burying Ground, was erected at about this time.

The Huguenot persecution, which proved a blessing to the American colonies, was the means of separating families, as is generally the case in all religious uprisings which come to a nation or to a community. Of the Faneuil family we find that Jean (John) adhered to the faith of his fathers and remained in France, having his home at Rochelle. Susannah, a sister, also of the same faith, remained at Rochelle and became the wife of Abraham Delacroix. Jane, another sister, was a Huguenot, who became the wife of Pierre (Peter) Cossart. They were of the company who took refuge in Ireland. It is gratifying, however, to note that this separation did not lead to entire estrangement, for there was social and business intercourse carried on between these branches of the family separated by the broad Atlantic. Having now four branches of the family to keep in mind, we turn our attention more particularly to the one located at Boston.

NOTE

It is evident, according to recent investigations, that we are indebted to one of the Huguenots for the "Old Powder House" at Somerville, it having been the windmill of John Mallet, who bought a tract of ten acres of land on the hill early known as "Two-penny-brook Quarry," and there set up a windmill early in the eighteenth century.

The name Faneuil has through American use lost its original pronunciation. Historians occasionally make an attempt to give the name its old country accent, but New England familiarity has established a phonetic pronunciation. The old-fashioned Boston style was a good deal like the word "funnel."

Parton in "Captains of Industry" is responsible for a story told of the late Ralph Waldo Emerson's first lecture in Cincinnati, forty years ago. "A worthy pork packer, who was observed to listen with close attention to the energetic utterances of the sage, was asked, by one of his friends, what he thought of the performance. "I liked it very well," said he, "and I'm glad I went, because I learned from it how the Boston people pronounced Faneuil Hall."

The order which went forth from Paris in October, 1685, was intended to put an end forever to the Protestant religion in France; the king meant to make thorough work of it. It was ordered that all the Huguenot churches in the kingdom be instantly demolished. Dissenters were forbidden to assemble either in a building or out-of-doors, on penalty of death and confiscation of all their goods. Their clergymen were required to leave the kingdom within fifteen days. Their schools were interdicted, and the children hereafter born of Protestant parents were to be baptized by the Catholic clergymen and be reared in that faith.

CHAPTER II

Faneuil Account Books. Benjamin Faneuil's Children settle in Boston. Merchandise that stocked the Markets at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century. Faneuil Merchants suffer from Piracy. Marriage of Faneuil Sisters with noted Boston Families. Faneuils are Founders of Trinity Church in Boston. Freaks of Andrew Faneuil. Cupid disturbs the Family Plan. The Banished Benjamin. Peter is called to the Tremont Street Mansion. Commercial Difficulties. Faneuil Investments.

THE exact date of Andrew Faneuil's business venture in Boston cannot be determined, for the historian had not dipped his quill at that time, and this early merchant had completed his career before the noted Hutchinson began his work. Such fragments of his manuscripts as we have are ours only after the hand of some vandal has been arrested in his work of destruction. I have gone for my information herein given to the many published works on Boston and its early people, but more especially have I relied upon the fragmentary letter and invoice books, ledger, and journal, once the property of the Faneuils, and where appear, indelibly stamped, the acts of not only Andrew, but of his nephews. The splendid parchment pages, as firm and strong as when the quill was applied to them, admonish us in the use of the soft perishable pulp of our modern paper mills, and the plain legible penmanship of one hundred and seventy years ago puts to shame much of the chirography of the present time. Others have been to these fragments before me, and through diligence have gleaned for their valuable works; and they, like all visitors to these broken files, have found cause for lamenting that so much of our commercial his-

tory has been lost through fire, accident, and heedlessness. By this admission I am simply committed to the effort to put old wine into new bottles, and as this is the reversal of the time-honored warning, I trust to find the means of conveyance, as well as the material, acceptable to the modern reader.

The earliest date is 1725, and appears in the Invoice Book, but as it is far along in the volume as it originally appeared, and in the midst of a transaction, we can but conclude that sev-



eral years of Andrew Faneuil's business records have preceded it, as what we have is but a fragment, although well set in its original binding. We are also led to the conclusion that this merchant has, long before this time, established a home at his fine estate, and, still unmarried, has servants, black and white, to do his bidding. At the outset we are met with a statement that Andrew, Benjamin, and Peter Faneuil are all engaged in one and the same venture, and for an explanation turn at once to the family at New Rochelle, New York, where Andrew's brother, Benjamin, with Anne Bureau, his wife, settled at the dawn of the century. We find that they have been blessed with eleven children, — Peter, Benjamin, Francis, Anne, Anne, Marie, John,

Anne, Susannah, Mary Anne, and Catherine. Although the first two Annes, John, and Catherine have died in infancy, there are enough to supply the deficiencies at Andrew's home at Boston. The oldest two are committed to his care and instruction, and before many years Mary Anne joins them. This division of the Rochelle family is thought not to have taken place until after the death of the head of the family in 1719, when Peter was nineteen years old and Benjamin two years younger. They were, however, well trained in commercial business when we find uncle and nephews as consignees of a large shipment of merchandise, and styled merchants.

A review of these consignments will afford some intimation of the richness and brilliancy of the colonial costume; many of the fabrics if displayed in the show window of modern Boston would attract the eye of the ladies of the time. Crapes, Holland lawn, Spanish poplin, colored silk, and black poplins were all in vogue. Durants and duroys, osnaburgs, camblets, narrow, double, and cherry, with ingrain, were all here in the market at the Faneuil warehouses. Silk druggets and calamancoes were noted in the advertisements. Peter Faneuil seems to have attended to the gunpowder importation on his individual account. There was an invoice on September, 1725, of "40 half barrels of gun powder, shipt on board, Cambria, Capt. John Darby, for Boston in New England, and there consigned to Mr. Peter Faneuil being for our accounts under ye mark and number as in ye margin."

"An Invoice of dishes, pans and kettles, wooden lanthorns and one Tin Ditto," appears in connection with "12 Boys' Castors" (hats), and as many for men with a "Deal Box"; beaveretts; 6 doz. fine check Roman handkerchiefs, etc.

While it is doubtless true that the yeomen of the colony lived on coarse food, the products of their own acres, it is evident that the merchants, noted families of the seaports, enjoyed the luxuries, particularly finely prepared grain.

In 1728 is the record, "Invoice of 224 half Barrels flour, shipt on board the sloop Rhuby — Thomas Barnes, master, bound for Boston for the proper account and risque of Peter Bagard, and goes consigned to Mr. Peter Faneuil, Mercht., & Mr. Theodore Delacroix of Rochelle." The Rochelle merchant was, doubtless, a cousin of Peter, and son of Susannah Faneuil Delacroix, of France.

These Boston merchants were not at a loss for amusements, the Huguenot families doubtless indulging in some that the more conservative Puritans would not tolerate. Peter Faneuil has consigned to him " $\frac{1}{2}$ gross, man in the moon cards," also "1 chest of 20 muskets, and one Large pair Looking Glasses."

The dangers that merchantmen encountered in those days are suggested by the following: "Sept. 25, 1725 Invoice of what remains of a parcel of merchandize shipt by Silas Roaper of London on board ye ship Thomasine; Samuel Thorrow, who was taken by ye pyrots being for account of under mentioned persons. Abraham and Egbert Eden; Silas Hooper, Henry Frankland; and Peter Faneuil." Julian Verplanck of New York conducted business for the estate of Anne Faneuil, deceased. He consigned fifty half-barrels of flour for this estate in 1728 to Peter Faneuil. By this we see that the widow of Benjamin, and mother of Peter, had died, and the Rochelle home at New York had gone into other hands. We have already seen that three of Benjamin and Anne's children have located in Boston, and upon further examination find three others followed them. Marie married Mr. Gillam Phillips, August 6, 1725, and settled in a home at the corner of State and Devonshire streets, or, as called at that time, King Street and Pudding Lane.

Anne married Addington Davenport, who was an assistant at King's Chapel in 1737 and the first rector of Trinity Church, of which her brother Benjamin was an officer at the opening.

Susannah married James Boutineau, a lawyer in Boston, and

lived on Milk Street. He managed the famous case of his son-in-law, Robinson, who assaulted James Otis. Thus we have the family, with the exception of Francis, whom we know nothing about, all settled in Boston and well connected as far as matrimonial alliances have been made.¹

The domestic side of our nature prompts us to desire to get nearer to these Faneuil merchants than a glimpse into their business affairs will admit. Were these young men married? and where did they live? are natural inquiries; for this was an age when early marriages were the rule rather than the exception; and what of Uncle Andrew there in his beautiful home on Tremont Street, surrounded by seven acres of garden abounding in everything that wealth could procure? No class of people knew better how to cultivate a garden than the Huguenots. They were acknowledged to be the best gardeners, fruit and vine growers in all the world. Were the nephews, Benjamin and Peter, happy, unfettered members of their uncle's home? Alas! we fear not. Bereft of the bride of his youth, Andrew Faneuil never transferred his affections to another to occupy her place, and, according to a well-founded tradition, he seemed determined to place a blockade about the heart of each member of his family. He had more than an uncle's affection for these young men, who had proved their business ability, under his careful direction, and he would fain take one nearer to his heart to be his heir and representative in the world. But he thought

¹ The Faneuil family were connected with King's Chapel, and were of the number who, in 1734, adopted measures for building an Episcopal church, Trinity, at the corner of Hawley and Summer streets. They had pews in both. Interest in the rector of the new church, doubtless, led Peter and his sister Mary Anne to frequent that under the pastoral care of their brother-in-law. But they did not lose their interest in King's Chapel, their first church home after leaving the French church. It appears that Peter Faneuil was one of the first to move toward building the stone chapel in place of the old one, erected of wood in 1688. Among the subscribers for the stone chapel in 1741 appear the names of Governor Shirley, Sir Henry Frankland, and Peter Faneuil, a famous trio in Boston's history. Peter Faneuil was made treasurer of the building fund, but his death occurred before the house was erected.

of the contingencies of such a course, and was perplexed. Comfortably ensconced in his beautiful home, surrounded with all material things that wealth could procure, Andrew Faneuil resolved to do all in his power to keep this estate in his prescribed circle, and if possible make sure of his successor. But had he used the judgment in this matter which he exercised in ordinary affairs, he would have seen that he was adopting the very method to defeat his fond purpose.

He selects the young man Benjamin, who seems to come the nearest to his ideal. Bright and full of promise, the young merchant becomes one of the family, and soon finds a large place within the inner circle of his uncle's affections. The young man entered upon the enjoyment of this life with the spoken or implied agreement on the part of him who had the title deed, that it should be Benjamin's on the condition that he should be content to live a single life. There was, however, an exception of a small portion which a semi-enlightened conscience prompted him to give to the Lord, and to family and friends at a distance. The home, the name, the armorial bearings, and the great residue should be the reward of obedience to the whims of a fussy old man in his dotage, who, having held his purse with a tight grip during life, would still continue to cling to it in death. Benjamin Faneuil enjoyed this for a time, but after a while was surfeited with the good things. Even Eden with all its attractions is not enough if there be one limitation. A fair and gentle maiden chanced to glide along, and almost unobserved ran the blockade, when the citadel of Benjamin's heart surrendered with no show of opposition. The lady was Mary Cutler, daughter of an Episcopal clergyman; she was highly educated, had decided literary tastes, and withal was a poetess. One might think that the superiority of this young lady and the position which she naturally occupied would cause the reigning power of the house of Faneuil to relent, but Benjamin knew better. For a time he tried to serve two masters,

but soon learned the folly of it. An idle gossip, perhaps foiled in her ambitions, brought the news to the housekeeper, who made haste to deliver the message to the elder Faneuil, who, after the apparent enjoyment of a good breakfast with his chosen nephew at the board, pushed back in his chair, thrust his thumbs into the armholes of his waistcoat, and propounded the fatal question to the young man. There was but one reply, and it brought forth the edict of expulsion. We can but follow the brave young man as he leaves the lap of luxury to make his own fortune, which he has already proved his ability to do. Making his home, perhaps, with one of his sisters, he gives attention to his well-established business, and in about one year he marries the fair young lady. They establish a home and are honored members of society in the town. In about a year they bring to the altar, for baptism, a son, whose name is declared to be Benjamin; others who follow in subsequent years are Peter and Mary.

Turning with feelings of contempt to the Elder, we find him sitting alone by his hearthstone, in deep meditation. He realizes most keenly his situation, and knows that unless he makes new plans, all his fond ambitions may go for naught. He is not long in reaching a conclusion: there is Peter, an enterprising young man, eldest son of his brother Benjamin, well established in business, and more closely allied with him than his ejected brother had been, as regards their commercial interests; in fact, Andrew and his nephew Peter have made records in the one folio.

Peter is free from any matrimonial entanglements, and is one whom the old gentleman believes is well fortified against the darts of the one dreaded enemy. He calls him into his counting-room, rehearses his bitter disappointment, and offers to transfer the plan to Peter's interest on the same conditions. The position is an awkward one. Andrew and his rejected nephew have warehouses on the same street, very near one

another, and their commercial affairs are more or less joined. Then Peter does not wish to alienate the affections of his brother, and be it remembered, to the credit of the young men, there is no evidence of other than the most friendly relations during all that follows.

It is not long before Peter Faneuil is the heir presumptive, the "last will" of Andrew having been set aside for another "last will," with the former revoked. In peace and harmony with all the family and in the fulfilment of his whimsical uncle's demands, the young man grows in the esteem of his fellow-men.

He has the advantage of his brother, whose experience serves as a warning, and, too, there are less years for the Elder to reign.

But Peter Faneuil is not one who is contented to drive his uncle's horses, smoke his uncle's cigars, and, dressed in purple and fine linen, stand about, waiting for a dead man's shoes. There is none of that shiftless trait in his nature. He has his own argosies abroad, which make good time and bring in pleasing returns. He receives goods from correspondents in England, Portugal, and France, sells them, and makes return in new ships, fish, or other merchandise. It appears that he at times ventures vessel and cargo, or goes in shares with his uncle, brother, or friends, either at home or abroad. But the business of the time is largely done on commission. He charges five per cent on fish, oil, or gold, and is careful that he gets it. The merchandise to which reference has already been made consists of an assorted importation for Boston dealers, who are charged with the cost and an agreed advance. In the winter of 1735-36 we find that Peter Faneuil is engaged in building the ship *Providence* for the account of Mr. William Limbery of Bristol, England. He has a good deal of business with Limbery, receiving from him English goods, chiefly textile fabrics. But Faneuil refuses five hundred pieces of "Duroys"

unless he can make returns in fish the following year. In regard to the proposal Faneuil writes: "It is impossible to sell goods, to raise money out of them to Purchase Spring Fish." He reports on January 24, 1736, that the ship is ready upon the stocks, but waiting for the harbor to be free from "Ye vast quantities of Ice." A slight hint of the extent of his commercial interests is obtained from an account current, which shows a balance due Limbery of £8965 14s. 6d., made from the sales of several shipments therein detailed.

The winter was very severe, business had been "Impossible Scarcely," but in March, 1736, the *Providence* was loaded and sailed for Bordeaux. Her freight consisted of 137 hhds. 19 bbls. brown sugar, 7 hhds. 336 bls. white sugar, owned by John Segal of that port. The freight on sugars was to be 2s. 6d. per cwt. She carried 2 hhds. indigo also, with 11 M. barrel staves, "11 Escriptores," and about 8 doz. finished oars. Faneuil hopes Limbery will load the *Providence* back with salt, and he will be ready to reload her with fish.

The young merchant records himself as sorely vexed "thro' the Caprice of the Judge of the Admiralty here. And it is in no way founded on Law nor Justice." He very naturally uses his influence to have the official dismissed; "for he is a Vile man." Failing in that, he says, "I hope you will get a Letter of Reprimand from their Lordships to him, which I desire you will send me open, that so for the future there may be no more such Impositions on the faire trader."

Faneuil's bills of cost on the ship *Providence* were £4873 6s. 2d., and the small portion of the cargo furnished by him amounted to £511 1s. 1d. He notes that there is a balance due Limbery, but not enough to pay for a cargo of fish, when she returns for freight. Faneuil soon records a lamentation over the decline in ship-building, saying, "Wee have 43 sails of vessells now a Building in this Town, and there is nothing but Disappointmt to be expected from them."

Smuggling was not beneath the moral standard of these early merchants, and one need not be at loss to know what caused the trouble with the Admiralty Court, when it appears that in June, 1737, Faneuil sends Mr. Thomas Lloyd at a Southern port "a box of fine Barcelona handkerchiefs to be sold for his account, and the net proceeds returned in pork, wheat, or flour; value of 62 doz. at £7. is £434," and with the goods the following instructions:—

"Ye M^r. [Captain] does not know what they are and you cannot be insensible that they cannot be Imported openly, therefore I desire y^r. care in gettg. of them on Shore Immediately on y^{re} Arrival."

Peter Faneuil builds ships for Miguel Pachecoda Silva of Cadiz, and also for Mr. Thomas Quay of Kingston, Jamaica, having other business relations with both parties. He does not hesitate to press his demands in payment, and declares to Quay, "I^m surprized that you sent so small a matter of effects as to carry forward such an undertaking and y^t by a stranger, should you fail of sending it, you may depend that I shant go on with her." Fearing that Mr. Quay may not be fully impressed, he sends another letter, saying, "there are five ships belonging to the West Indies lying at the wharves, which the factors would not let go, for lack of payment, so that I hope youⁿ Prevent y^t being one of the number."

It was while the young merchant was engrossed with his personal cares that he received the added burden of his uncle's business. In June, 1737, we find him writing with business directions to his agent abroad, "my Uncle—Mr. Faneuil, has been indisposed ever since February last, and has been obliged to keep his chamber for upwards of eighteen months, he is a little better, and just begins to come down stairs, he desires to be remembered to you and all your good family." Andrew Faneuil had large investments at home and abroad. The uncertainty of finance and great depreciation of currency at

this time impelled such merchants, having accumulated wealth, to seek for the solid investments of the mother country, and the elder Faneuil had put his surplus money in good bank stock and other reliable property.

While confined by illness, Andrew Faneuil receives a communication from his banker, and Peter replies on December 8, 1737, to Claude Fonnereau & Sons, London, telling of the illness of his uncle and acknowledging Fonnereau's advice of dividend received on Faneuil's £14,800 Bank stock; 3 per cent received on £1000 Exchequer annuity, and the reinvestment of his balance in £200 East India Compy. Bond. and £200 Bank Stock. All this greatly pleases the old Huguenot, and he finds a solace in his weary hours, through considering his rapidly accumulating wealth.

CHAPTER III

Rectors of Trinity Church. The Tender Side of Andrew Faneuil's Nature. An Orphan in the Home. Death of Andrew Faneuil. Mourning Rings and Gloves. Boston's Most Costly Funeral. The Last Will and its Secrets. Provision for Poor of Boston. Copies of Will sent to Foreign Lands. Peter Faneuil becomes the Merchant Prince of Boston. He re-stocks the Faneuil Mansion. Peter Faneuil sells Fish and buys a Negro Boy to serve him.

WHEN Andrew Faneuil was laid aside from active life and the mists gathered about his head, even the most censorious gave pause, and those who had seen little to commend and much to criticise in the long life of that leading merchant, began to cast up the good deeds of the old Huguenot; for Andrew Faneuil, with all his eccentricities, had not failed to scatter seeds of kindness along the winding pathway of his journey. It is ever so; even the human accountant at the end of the life of a fellow-mortal finds much to place on the credit side of the balancing sheet when he has made free only with his debits as long as the account was kept open.

It was not surprising that Andrew Faneuil should cling with tenacity to his own little church. It stood for that faith for which he had left home, kindred, and native land. But as he saw it was waning, and its utter extinction inevitable, he turned his attention to Trinity Church, over which Rev. Addington Davenport, who had married his niece, was rector. An assistant minister in this church was Rev. Mr. Cutler, son of Timothy Cutler, D.D., the rector of Christ Church. This young clergy-

man had made his way to the heart of the old merchant, early in his connection with the church, and received many tokens of his favor, and no member of his flock was more distressed at his early death than Andrew Faneuil. In testimony of his fondness for the young minister, he made immediate provision for the widow and her infant daughter. It was not long before Mrs. Cutler followed her husband within the shadow, and the child was left an object of charity. The merchant attended the funeral rites and then took the orphan and its nurse to his own home. The prattle of a little child, innocent of its loss, was a new sound in that mansion, and the little feet made their timid way over rich carpets seldom pressed by childish feet, while its merry face peered out from behind the damask draperies, where no such figure had been seen before.

This little girl was not long in detecting a responsive chord in the ill-tuned nature of her aged friend, and she ventured to come nearer to him; but before she had full control of the key that was to unlock the heart of the old Huguenot, he was gone. She remained in the home, however, until, as a young lady, she went forth the bride of Captain Cochran, who was one of the Faneuil sailing-masters.

Andrew Faneuil's death occurred in February, 1738, and was an occasion of great importance in the town and whole province. Peter Faneuil was careful that every propriety of the occasion should be observed without stint. If we can believe the reports of the time, there were three thousand pairs of mourning gloves distributed to the friends in attendance at the funeral, and when time would admit, two hundred mourning rings were given to the nearer friends. The wealth and standing of the merchant are indicated by the account seen in the *Boston News Letter* of the 23d of the month in which he died. "Last Monday the corpse of Andrew Faneuil, Esquire, whose death we mentioned in our last, was honorably interred here, above 1,100 persons of all Ranks, beside the Mourners, following the Corpse, also a

vast number of Spectators were gathered together on the Occasion, at which time the half-minute guns from on board several vessels were discharged. And 'tis supposed that as the Gentleman's fortune was the greatest of any among us, so his funeral was the most 'generous and expensive of any that has been known here."

Could we with some magician's wand cause that throng of dignitaries of provincial Boston to pass before us into Granary Burying Ground, and standing aside, with cocked hats in their gloved hands, bow their bewigged heads while the body of their fellow-townsmen is consigned to the tomb, we should see many of them, when withdrawing, shrug their shoulders beneath their cloaks, and we should hear them whisper from man to man, "Now let us see how Peter will make the money fly."

It had been generally understood, since the peremptory expulsion of Benjamin, that Peter was to be the fortunate one, and the community watched eagerly for the last will of the deceased. They were not long delayed; for it was soon entered and allowed in the manner of all such posthumous documents unless undue influence can be shown, and there it stands to-day among the yellow probate records of provincial days in Suffolk County. Fearing that my busy reader will never take time to decipher its many parts (for like the sermons of the time it runs to "Eighteenthly"), I furnish the following abstract of Andrew Faneuil's will. "I commit my soul to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, humbly begging the pardon of my sins, the perfecting of my charities, and everlasting life above."

He first testifies of his love for the French church in Boston, by leaving his warehouse in trust for the support of the ministers and elders; but seeing that the Huguenots, through intermarriage with the Puritan element, would soon raise up a class of citizens in the town, who would have no affiliations with the French church of the pioneers, Mr. Faneuil provided that in case it should cease to be, then said warehouse should revert to

his heirs — "excluding Benjamin Faneuil, of Boston, and the heirs of his body forever" — this last clause is in evidence of the wrath of that fatal morning, which had not abated.

Secondly, to said French church, three pieces of plate to the value of £36 sterling, "a flaggon for the communion table, a plate for the bread, and a basin to christen the children, with the coat of arms and name of the donor engraven upon each of them."

Thirdly, £100 in Province bills, to be paid to the elders for the poor of the French church.

Fourthly, £50 in Province bills and "a suit of mourning, throughout," to the French minister.

Fifthly, £100 in Province bills to the overseers for the poor of Boston.

Sixthly, to the Rev. Benjamin Colman "a suit of mourning throughout."

It seems a pity that the conditions of this will could not have been known in time for these favored clergymen to secure their suits of mourning throughout before the funeral ceremonies.

Seventhly, "to my loving brother, John Faneuil, of Rochelle, one hundred pounds sterling."

Eighthly, "to my loving brother-in-law, Peter Cossart, of Cork in Ireland, and his sister, Susannah Cossart of Amsterdam, £50 each, to buy mourning."

It is to be hoped that these kinsfolk across the ocean received their legacies in time to buy the mourning before they had forgotten the thoughtful man of Boston who thus anticipated their grief.

Ninthly, "to Benjamin Faneuil, of Boston, son of my brother, Benjamin Faneuil, deceased, five shillings and no more."

It was this "ninthly" that set the community agog. But justice is yet to be meted out to the disinherited Benjamin.

Tenthly, to his executor in trust eight thousand ounces in silver

or "pieces of eight," to purchase an estate of inheritance at his discretion, within one year after the testator's death, for his loving niece, Mary, wife of Gillam Phillips, and the heirs of her body.

Eleventhly, to her son Andrew, five hundred ounces of silver.

The next three bequests are to his nieces, Anne, Susannah, and Marian, £2000 sterling each. The first two to be paid six months after his death, and the last at majority or marriage; four per cent to be allowed her per annum, ad interim, and she to be maintained by the executor till she attain full age or is married.

The special favor to Marian (Mary Anne)¹ was because of her being a member of the household and giving her personal service to Andrew Faneuil.

Fifteenthly, to his loving sister, Susannah F., widow of Abraham Delacroix, of Rochelle, £1000 sterling.

Sixteenthly is a provision of five hundred ounces of silver to his servant maid, Hendrine Boyltins, and she also has a suit of mourning throughout.

The seventeenthly proves Henry Johnson, her son, to have found a warm place in the old gentleman's affections, for he was given one hundred and fifty ounces of silver. This youth made a like good impression upon Peter's mind and became his confidential clerk.

It is the eighteenthly that gives the promised reward to Peter for his obedience — the reward of celibacy. "I give, bequeath, and devise all the rest of my estate, both real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever 'tis in New England, Great Britain, France, Holland, or any other part of the world to my loving nephew Peter Faneuil eldest son of my late brother Benjamin Faneuil, to hold to him and his heirs forever."

Peter was appointed sole executor of this will, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his obligations.

¹ Mary Anne is frequently spelled Marian.

The question "How much did he leave?" so frequently asked, was never satisfactorily answered; for Peter evidently did not make a return of the footing up of the estate, although John, Archbishop of Canterbury, as was the custom, sent his commission to Judge Willard, from the Prerogative Court, to swear Peter, to render a true inventory, etc. In fact, it would be of little satisfaction to us if he had put it upon the records. It is sufficient that the deceased was honored at his burial as being the most wealthy merchant of the town. To be at the head is enough. With the will fully in mind let us see how the "loving nephew" proceeded with the business. He immediately announced his uncle's death to his foreign correspondents, and furnished those who were acting as custodians with duly certified copies of the will.

The executor gave immediate attention to the courtesy which custom required — that of furnishing relatives and friends of the deceased with mourning rings. The duty was entrusted to Samuel and William Baker, agents in London, who were to procure the handsomest rings that could be made and engraved. From time to time Peter sent orders to these agents to forward to other agents rings from the supply prepared. He also in due time gave orders to his London agents to pay from the funds of his deceased uncle in their hands the legacies before mentioned, save that to the sister of the testator, Susannah F., widow of Abraham Delacroix, of Rochelle, which was revoked by a codicil, in which is read, "My mind and my will is that my said sister Susannah F. shall not have the said thousand pounds, nor any part of it."

What sin of omission or commission Andrew Faneuil could have charged to his widowed sister at home in the mother-town does not appear in any of the fragments at hand, but we fancy that Benjamin, with his five shillings instead of the bulk of the estate, and Susannah F., without any proof of her brother's love, may have exchanged messages of condolence.

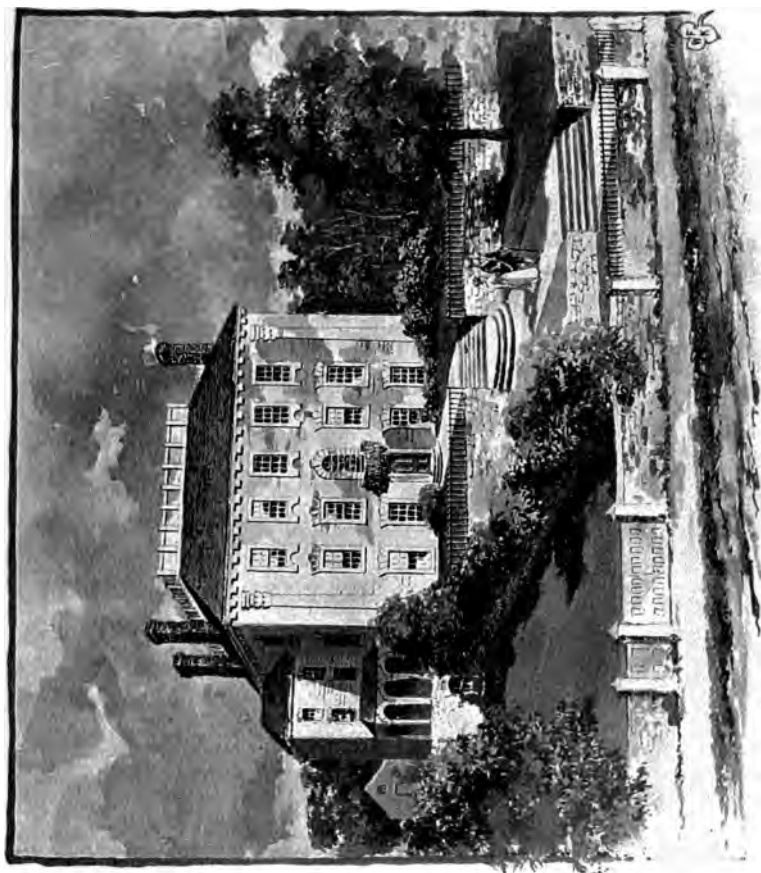
Having fulfilled the conditions of the will of his late uncle, Peter Faneuil enters upon the full possession of the estate. He is now the reigning power. He walks through the seven-acre garden with the satisfied feeling of possession. He cherishes the good old-fashioned flowers "quaint in form and bright in hue," because they were dear to his uncle's heart. They spoke of the old home in France, from which Uncle Andrew had imported them, with many varieties of choice fruits that were here successfully cultivated.

In writing of this estate, says Miss Quincy: "The deep courtyard, ornamented by flowers and shrubs, was divided into an upper and lower platform, by a high glacis, surrounded by a richly wrought railing decorated with gilt balls. The terraces which rose from the paved court behind the house were supported by massive walls of hewn granite, and were ascended by flights of steps of the same material. One of the ornaments of this tasteful garden was a summer house which resembled an Eastern pagoda, and from the little spire which surmounted it there glittered and whirled about in olden times a gilded grasshopper, for a vane, in imitation of the one upon the Royal Exchange in London. The summer house from its elevated situation commanded a lovely view, and for many successive years the Johonnot and Faneuil gardens were remembered for their choice fruits and flowers as things of æsthetic beauty."

In this garden, styled the "Eden of Beauty," Mr. Faneuil set up hothouses in which he cultivated choice tropical fruits, thereby earning for himself the honor of being a pioneer in this important auxiliary of the market of modern times.

The Faneuil residence was a magnificent mansion of the time, standing back from the street, in the midst of the ample garden with its many attractions.

This all belonged to Peter now, and was known as the residence of Peter Faneuil, Esq.



FANEUIL MANSION

Would the reader relocate all this beauty of provincial Boston, let him pass up Tremont Street, and taking a stand by King's Chapel, see Houghton & Dutton's store, Suffolk Bank, and the other buildings of that square dissolve from his view, and in their place appear what we have thus faintly described.

Peter Faneuil was about thirty-eight years of age,¹ when he came in full possession of his uncle's fortune, which, added to his own accumulations, made him the merchant prince of his time, — "the topiniest merchant in all the town," said Thomas Hancock. A genial disposition and good living, together with his age, had favored him with large, well-rounded features, and corpulence sufficient to make him "one of the solid men of the town."

Peter Faneuil had tastes and ambitions in keeping with his fortune; and he lost no time in appropriating his inheritance to his own comfort and that of others.

He was fond of display and good living, and the customs of the times encouraged him in the fullest indulgence of his inclinations.

He walked about his warehouses and wharves with a commanding step, and took delight in the deference shown him by his associates. His doors were ever open to his friends, and ample hospitality was freely dispensed.

"Here's to Peter Faneuil," were the words often uttered as embroidered ruffles fell about the bumper when touching the lips of the brilliantly attired gentlemen who frequented the Faneuil home.

The old stock in the wine cellar soon ran low, and in about three weeks from the date of his uncle's death Peter writes Pope & Co., at Madeira, thus: —

¹ From family record: "The 20th of June 1700, being Thursday, at 6 o'clock, in the evening was born our son, Peter Faneuil, and he was baptized the 14th of July by Mr. Peyret, Minister of the French church in New York, presented in baptism by Mr. Claude Bowdoin and its mother."

"Send me by the very first opportunity for this place five pipes of your very best Madeira wine, of an amber color, of the same sort which you sent to our good friend De Lancy of New York."

He directs them to draw for the pay on the Bakers, his London agents, and adds: —

"As the wine is for the use of my house, I hope you will be careful that I have the best. I am not fond of the strongest."

On the same date he addresses Lane & Smithurst of London as follows: "Be so good as to send me a handsome chariot with two sets of harness, with the arms as enclosed on the same in the handsomest manner that you shall judge proper, but at the same time nothing gaudy, and send me also, well recommended, two sober men, the one for a coachman, the other for a gardener, and agree with the same, to be paid either in London quarterly or here, allowing for the exchange of the money, which they shall choose; and as most servants from Europe when here are too apt to be debauched with strong drink, rum, etc., being very plenty, I pray your particular care in this article."

Peter Faneuil had many vessels on the water, and to them was entrusted much of his foreign transportation. He had a brig by the name of *Rochelle*. He not only kept them engaged in foreign trade, but domestic commerce absorbed a part of the time.

The order to Madeira could not be filled in haste, hence this merchant, a week later, writes to Gulian Verplanck at New York: "Send me the pipe of wine, having none good to drink."

Again, two weeks later, he writes: "By the first good opportunity send the best pipe of wine you can purchase."

We see the relief from his embarrassment when on the 25th of April he writes: "The wine, I hope, will prove good. Comes in very good time, there being no good in town."

That he had the taste of an epicure is inferred from a letter

in which he sends for "the latest best book of the several sorts of cookery, which pray let be of the largest character for the benefit of the maids' reading." At the same time he sends for two pairs of spectacles—"one for the meridian of forty-five years and one pair for fifty years."

When Peter and Mary Anne were sitting at their dining-table, they came to the conclusion that their uncle's table furnishings were not up to the times, and they resolved to stock up in the spring following the elder's death. Peter writes the Bakers for a good supply of glass and china; orders tablecloth and napkins manufactured for his own use by John Cossart & Sons of France. He sends for silver spoons and forks, "with three prongs," to be made with the Faneuil arms cut on them, saying, "Let them be very neat and handsome."

He sends a piece of a wax candle as a sample of those which are used in illuminating the Faneuil mansion, and orders candlesticks made of a size suitable to carry such tapers. "Let them be very neatly made and by the best workmen: let my arms be engraved on each of them, and let them be sent me by my brother."

When the letter book shows us that in June, 1737, Peter Faneuil sends for "8 hhds claritt and 2 hhds white wine, a gross of Burgundy and champaine," we are not surprised to find that in less than a month he writes to the Bakers for a handsome silver punch bowl, to hold "from 6 quarts to 2 gallons, and made after the newest fashion with the family crest on it."

We do not doubt that the last order of wine was for the market; but in order that Mr. Faneuil could recommend it with confidence it must be personally tested, and we may well fancy the company of Boston's wine testers as they gathered with the importer of the stock about his board, and partook from the two-gallon vessel filled to the brim.

Doubtless their wigs were somewhat disarranged before they

all satisfied themselves that they could recommend the new supply with a good conscience.

With the new tableware at hand we may well imagine the satisfaction with which the Faneuils received at meat the Sigourney and, Johonnot families and others of Huguenot descent, and with what pride the portly head of the family served the venison and other choice viands, while Miss Mary Anne explained that the three canaries, provoked to song by the glitter of the silver and glass on the French napery, had come to her as a gift from Lynch & Blake, their foreign agents.

Other less showy but equally useful articles were imported to order, on January 19, 1738, from Lane & Smithurst, "a copper warming pan, and a half dozen largest and best white blankets, for the best chamber, with pudding pans for the kitchen."

We must believe that such a home as Peter Faneuil's could not be conducted without a retinue of servants, and we infer that faithful service was appreciated in the home, as well as in the garden and stable. In fact, we have seen that Andrew Faneuil remembered his servant in his last will.

A letter of February 3, 1738, addressed to Captain Peter Buckley, shows how Peter Faneuil secured a servant: "Here-with you have Invoice of six hhds Fish and 3 bbls of Alewives, amo to £75 9s 2d, which you, when you arrive at Antigua, be pleased to sell for my best advantage and with the net proceeds of the same purchase for me, for the use of my house, as likely a strait negro lad as possibly you can, about the age from twelve to fifteen years, and if to be done, one that has had the smallpox, who, being for my own service, I must request the favor. You will let him be one of as tractable a disposition as you can find. This I leave to your prudent care and management, desiring, after you have purchased him, you would send him to me by the first good opportunity, recommending him to a particular care from the Captain, by whom you send him.

PETER FANEUIL BUYS A NEGRO BOY 33

Your care in this will be an obligation. I wish you a good voyage.

“ Post Script — If there should not be enough to purchase the boy desired, be pleased to advance and if any over please to lay it out for my best advantage in any thing you think proper.”

CHAPTER IV

Peter Faneuil and his Sister Mary Anne send to London for Wearing Apparel and Luxuries not in Boston Market. Glimpses into the Faneuil Dining Room. Faneuil Equipage. A Drive out of Town to Distinguished Provincial Homes. Shrewd Management of the Merchant. Generous but Exacting.

PETER FANEUIL enjoyed fine apparel as well as good living. He sent to London for "enough of the best scarlet cloth to trim a cloak." He also sends a pattern of a piece of "Duncy," and orders to match it the newest-fashioned buttons, mohair silk, and knee straps, also to match, "all to be of the best, you must mind, and buttons for two pairs of breeches. Wait on Mr. Lane & Smithurst for the payment, as well as for the former balance, and take money of them to buy me a chest of Lemons and one of Seville oranges." An afterthought prompts him to send for silk stockings to go with his breeches, and lace of different styles for other garments.

Mary Anne Faneuil was not a whit behind her brother in prudence, shrewdness, and self-esteem, well tempered with wisdom. Had she lived at the close of the nineteenth century, she would have been a leader among women who annually present their claims for suffrage. She had her regular account with Lane & Smithurst, in London, which her brother managed in his ordinary correspondence. When coming of age, her legacy from her Uncle Andrew's estate was secured to her by a credit with their London bankers, and she drew on them as occasion required.

A letter to John Caswell affords a glimpse of the frugal management of the household. "This asks the favr. of you when you arrive at London to dispose of a dozen silver knife and fork handles of mine, wch. you have therewith, for my best advantage & procure for me a new shogreen case with a dozen of new knives & forks of a handsome silver handle & the best blades you can get made in London, for my own use, with room in the case for a dozen of spoons, the same size & fashion with one sent, also by you for a pattern. Pray let the case be the same with that Mr. Baker sent me, lined with a red velvet, wch. stands in my dining room. As for the blades of the old knives, I shall be glad to have them made into Oyster knives, wch. may be easily done, being shortened and ground down. You have with you a bundle of my sister's, in which is a suit of clothes, wch pray deliver Messrs. Lane & Smithurst to be got dyed of the same color with a pattern fix't to it & watered like a Tabby, but if it so happens that it will not take that color, then let it be dyed of some other good fashionable color & watered as a Tabby, as before, for the charge of wch. let them debit Mrs. Mary Anne Faneuil's account."

This punctilious bachelor was fully as particular in regard to his sister's affairs as he was in his own. He did not hesitate to burden his London agents with very trifling matters; in one letter he says: "My sisters have received their things, in good order and to their liking, except the stockings, for the Hosier put up white worsted, instead of thread, although the pattern was sent. I have sent them back to you to be changed, in the ship Union, John Homas, master. Be pleased to send them, by the first opportunity: viz. for Mrs. Anne Faneuil, 3 pairs thread hose, with worsted clogs, and a pair of Galous hose, Mrs. Susannah Faneuil, 2 pairs thread ditto. Mrs. Mary Anne Faneuil, 4 pairs thread stockings, and 3 pairs clogs." Brother Peter does not hesitate to send to Jersey, ordering knit "a fine three or four threaded worsted petticoat" for one of his sisters.

All of this may seem trifling indeed, but it serves to show that in those early days brotherly love had its place in the family circle, and that even a bachelor brother had a fine sense of the little niceties of a lady's apparel.

It is but reasonable to suppose that Peter Faneuil and Mary Anne enjoyed fine equipage, and lost no time in adding to the Faneuil stock when Peter had the reins fully in his own hands. The chariot ordered so soon after the uncle's death was delayed for various reasons, and some time was needed to obtain the right coachman—one who could see the cellar filled with choice liquor and his master freely treating all guests, while the common people were making the trade in rum their chief business, and yet he not become "debauched" with it.

At length chariot and coachman were delivered. Of the latter Mr. Faneuil writes: "If he behave well he shall live entirely to his satisfaction." Peter soliloquizes when he learns of the bargain made for him by his agent, "Coachman indented for three years at 20 guineas per year—high wages—however I will take care and strictly comply with the same."

The equinal stock was low when Peter came into power—Uncle Andrew had sent off a broken-winded beast to Barbadoes for Mr. Joseph Ward to sell, and Peter early commissioned his friend Verplanck at New York to secure Albany horses for his use.

He loved the jingle of the sleigh-bells, and enjoyed speeding by Governor Belcher and Thomas Hancock as they made their way out to Cambridge to the Vassals' and Inmans', or over to Medford to call on Isaac Royal, who had but recently come from Antigua, where the Faneuils did much trading.

He made but little of a run to Kittery to see William Pepperell and chat awhile on the commercial prospects, halting by the way to lunch with Governor Wentworth. He made plans for comfort when on their winter drives in the country.

He sent to John Depuistre at Albany thus: "Purchase and

send me by the bearer six of the largest bearskins and two large, fine, well-painted beaver coats to use in a slay." A black foxskin is also forwarded "to be made into a handsome muff for a woman."

With what satisfaction Peter Faneuil must have donned his full-bottom wig and cocked hat, wrapped himself in his scarlet cloak, and walked out to his sleigh! His sister followed close behind, attended by the negro boy,—the living offset of a cargo of codfish and alewives to boot,—who carried the footstove well stocked with live coals for the comfort of his mistress's feet. With how much compassion Peter must have regarded the ebon youth as he tucked about his owner the bearskin robes and stood aside as the Albany steed responded to the touch of the rein, pranced down Tremont Street and out of town for a trip to the country!

From all we have seen of the Faneuil home, inside and out, we are prepared to admit the truth of the record, "Peter Faneuil's hospitality was unbounded."

With all his gettings, he remembered the words of Solomon, "Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom." He did not bow the knee to Baal, but with the waning of the Huguenot church, which his Uncle Andrew predicted, he sought wisdom from above through worship at Trinity, of which his brother-in-law, Addington Davenport, was rector.

We find him in March, 1738, writing the Bakers:—

"Purchase for me 1 handsome, large, octavo Common Prayer Book of a good letter, and well bound, with one of the same in French for my own use."

There is something peculiarly touching in this implied desire of Peter, the merchant, to receive his daily spiritual food in the mother tongue. Peter Faneuil was one of the early members of the Episcopal Charitable Society,¹ and gave a large sum to Trinity Church to support the families of the deceased clergy.

¹ See "History of Boston," *Episcopal Charitable Society*, by Dr. Boyle.

Every charity of the time had his name for a large sum. He subscribed liberally for the rebuilding of King's Chapel; but as the work was not completed for several years, the amount was not paid until after his death, and at the end of a lawsuit with his executor.

While Peter Faneuil's mind was abounding with most commendable purposes and he dealt with large sums, his business principles would not allow him to tolerate the least delinquency on the part of any who were his debtors. While giving a pound with one hand, he was holding the other for a penny that was justly his.

No account had been rendered of the wheezy old horse sent by his uncle to Barbadoes for sale, and Peter took various means for learning of the disposition of the beast. After satisfying himself, he addresses Mr. Joseph Ward: "I have been very much surprised that ever since the death of Captain Allen, you have not advised me of the sale of a horse belonging to my deceased uncle, left in your hands by him, which I am informed you sold for a very good price, and I am now to request the favor you would send me the net proceeds in sweetmeats and citron water, your compliance with which will stop me from giving some of my friends the trouble of calling you to an account there. I shall be glad to know if Captain Allen did not leave a silver watch and some fish, belonging to a servant of mine, with some person of your island, and with who? I expect your speedy answer." Fortunately Mr. Ward had learned that "a soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." He sent his account, and Peter was evidently softened by a box of sweetmeats. Stubborn indeed is that nature which cannot be mollified by some application, and fortunate is the alchemist who, having found the right combination, knows how to apply it, even though it be sweetmeats and citron water. Peter was melted to contrition, as appears by his letter of March 24, 1738. "Yours of 7 February, with the account of

sales of a horse left by Captain Allen, accompanying a box of sweetmeats I received, in which I observe you refer to my former, which you are pleased to look upon as in too unhandsome a stile. I must own it was not in so soft terms as I sometimes make use of, but, at that time, I really thought the state of the case required it, not having heard anything to be depended upon, concerning the horse in dispute, either if he was dead, sold, or run away. . . . I thank you for your speedy answer, and am, with return of your own compliment, as much as you are mine," etc.

It cannot be said that Peter Faneuil was slothful in business. At about the time of the Barbadoes horse investigation he was engaged in others. He informs M. Isaac Beauchamp that he, Peter, has been empowered, by his excellency, M. Bronellian, Governor of Cape Breton, to call him to account, and says: "I am now to let you know that out of honor and of the regards I have ever had to that gentleman, I am obliged to see some honorable issue made to that affair, for which reason I shall be glad you will advise me, after what manner you propose to satisfye the gentleman or me, without forcing violente means." This letter had reference to a tobacco transaction, and terminated by unanimous consent of all parties to smoke the pipe of peace.

While pausing to offer words of commendation for the dignified manner with which the merchant approached this question, we can but be as ready to sympathize with him when he considers a file of worthless promises to pay. To Captain Greenow he writes: "You may see what handsome parcell of protested bills I must pay. If this be the honor of you Ragon men, God deliver me from them, for the future. I would not take their word for a groat, etc. These pretended gentlemen think I will tamely sit down by their unhandsome usage, but they will find themselves very much mistaken," etc.

CHAPTER V

Experience of Peter Faneuil as a Merchant. Faneuils have Credit in All the Trading Ports of the World. John Jekyll Collector of the Port of Boston. Evading Duties. Sends to England for a Clerk who "wrights and ciphers." A Venture in Negroes.

PETER FANEUIL, while giving much thought to household supplies and personal comforts, was shrewdly managing his own business and that of his late uncle, which now were one and the same. Some branches of his trade, regarded as perfectly legitimate and indorsed by society, would be found wanting if weighed in the balance of modern commercial integrity. Trading with so many ports, Mr. Faneuil received all sorts and kinds of merchandise—wines and other liquors seeming to predominate, while occasionally a negro slave was consigned to him. The products of the fisheries, with tobacco, tar, and staves, made up the burden of the outgoing cargoes. This merchant of provincial days had his periods of depression, as have many of his successors since the termination of provincial government. To one correspondent he writes: "I have but little thanks for advancing my money. I would have you know that I am not so fond of a commission as to go a begging for it, or to do any base thing to obtain it. I bless God I have fortune enough to support myself, without doing any base action. You are welcome to make use of whom you please, all that I require of you is only to pay me my just and honest due." He is, however, found building vessels at his own risk and for different

parties. A favorite of the time was the "snow," a vessel with two masts, resembling the main and foremast of a ship, and a third small mast abaft the mainmast, carrying a sail similar to a ship's mizzen.

There came a time, regretted by Faneuil and other merchant princes, when they could no longer dominate over the fishermen of eastern Massachusetts. They had accumulated wealth, and many of them went out in command of their own vessels from Cape Ann, Marblehead, and Salem. Peter Faneuil wrote to Da Silva, "The shoremen have now six sail of vessels in the trade and they shipt of the last year 14,000 Qls." Whale-fishing was an important feature of the New England industry, and contributed largely toward the improved condition of this important class of people.

Our merchant had much business with the port of New York, and Philadelphia is occasionally on his list. Gulian Verplanck had been Andrew Faneuil's agent at New York and continued in the good-will of Peter, who frequently consigns English goods, Barcelona handkerchiefs, and Florence oil to Verplanck, and orders wheat or flour from that port for his outgoing vessels, especially those to Cadiz. He buys bread for the use of his ships. We find mention of "inferior bread" and New Jersey and "country bolted" flour. Verplanck receives from Faneuil the customary two and a half per cent on general business. Boston is the larger market, and controls more articles of luxury, says Weedon, who therein finds a reason for Faneuil's being asked in 1737 for a dozen "red Turkey or Morocker Leather chairs." He sends to Verplanck an easy-chair costing £14 14s.

The Faneuils were rated as responsible merchants by the whole commercial world, and they never wanted for business. In April, 1737, Peter sends out the snow *Phoenix*, P. Mariat master, loaded with 102 hhds. tobacco, 40 bbls. tar, black walnut, and staves. She was bound for Dartmouth, but was dis-

abled in a storm, and Faneuil had a good deal of trouble in the matter and he declares that he will petition the General Assembly for redress of wrongs inflicted at the Impost office. One cargo of wines sold by Faneuil for Thomas Pendergast brought £2686; the brands were "Videna" and "Malmsey," some being from Teneriffe, the largest of the Canary Islands. Hats seem to have been a desirable merchandise, a favorite style being known as "castors." A runaway negro slave was charged with carrying off his master's castor hat, which materially increased the loss. Peter Faneuil accounts for a parcel of castor hats amounting to about £400, with a promise to remit to Edward Dymoke, in beaver. This merchant kept an eye out for promising ventures, and in 1738 he writes Peter Lynch that there is no Madeira wine in town; and therefore "Videna" will bring about £50 per pipe.

London was the central market, and final exchange for all the commerce with which Faneuil had to do. Lane & Smithurst were his bankers, and he drew bills of exchange on them in favor of Verplanck of New York and settled his Barcelona and Cadiz business through their house. One item of credit amounts to £10,104.

One of the early royal collectors of the port of Boston was John Jekyll, who resided near the Faneuil family and who was very friendly with these merchants. He had everything that was expected to be in possession of one of the King's servants. The probate records of 1735 show him to have owned five negroes at the time of his death. They are inventoried "one at £85, three at £65, and one at £50." We find Peter Faneuil commending his friend and neighbor Jekyll¹ to his London bankers, and is so much pleased that they will

¹ John Jekyll, Esq., was collector of the port of Boston for twenty-seven years. He was also a justice of Suffolk and Middlesex. He was a leading member at King's Chapel, being a warden from 1713 to 1715. Being a general favorite, he was called "the darling of all traders."

"notice" him that he mentions it in a subsequent letter. As the wealth of these early merchants accumulated beyond their local demands and temporary investments, we find that they availed themselves of the solid investments of the mother country. They were impelled to this through the fluctuating state of the currency and political tinkering with finance. The investors kept an eye out to the *News Letter*, the Boston publication which quoted such securities as the Bank of England and East India stock. The Faneuils had made sure of their surplus in this way. When Uncle Andrew was ill, Peter acknowledged Claude Fonnereau & Son's advice of dividend received on £14,000 Bank stock, three per cent received on £1000 Exchequer annuity, and the reinvestment of his balance in £200 "East India Comp^y Bond" and £200 Bank stock. Andrew sent expression of satisfaction with the proceedings. On July 27, 1738, after the death of Uncle Andrew, Peter sent a mourning ring, and acknowledged their credit of Bank dividend £408 7s. 6d., and their debit of £438 1s. 5d., which they had invested in four East India bonds. There were "bears and bulls" in the provincial stock markets. Peter Faneuil alludes to the low price of stocks occasioned by petitions of merchants to the King against Spanish depredations. "It is high time wee should have Satisfaction from those Villians who are as bad as Pirates."

A statement on October 31, 1738, of S. and W. Baker, credits Peter Faneuil with

	£	s.	d
Old South Sea Annuities . . .	6531	11	3
East India £100 bonds . . .	300	0	0
East India stock	500	0	0

From these English investments we find Peter Faneuil as executor ordering the payment of his uncle's legacies to those abroad who had been thus remembered.

Smuggling, which brought great trouble to the country in later time, seems to have been practised in Peter Faneuil's day, and we are forced to believe that he had a hand in it. In December, 1738, a party had consigned Faneuil five hogsheads indigo and one tierce of rum, requesting the captain to learn of the consignee how to evade the duty. Faneuil replies, "Send it to Providence and from thence to come down in carts, that is, provided you can get a certificate for it from the custom house and by that means I could save the whole or a great part of the duty." Then, as later, a man like Faneuil, who openly declares, "I value my character more than all the money on earth," and would scorn the thought of taking advantage of an individual, would have no compunctions of conscience when the government was to suffer.

In 1738 Faneuil loads his brig *Rochelle* with rum to all appearances, and sends her away and directs his agent to lay out the proceeds in cheap merchandise, sole leather, etc. The captain signs for a certain number of hogsheads of rum, and such the crew believed it all to be; but Faneuil puts on record — "There are two casks viz No. 1, & No. 2, w^h are Brandy, w^h You'll use the necessary Caution in getting safe Landed on Shore. so as not to be of any Prejudice to my Vessell & advise me if at any time any quantity may be safely imported to you & how it will answer."

These were but small beginnings, the result of which Peter Faneuil did not live to see, as did many Boston people.

This merchant saw the need of well-trained clerks in his business, and before his uncle's death sent to his agents at London to send from "Christ Hospital a cleaver sober young youth that has had the small Pox w^{ch} is fitting to be bro^u up in my Counting House, one that wrights and ciphers well."

We have seen that Peter Faneuil exchanged a quantity of fish for a negro lad for his own service, but he, like his contemporaries, was often found engaged in the trade in human beings.

"The merchants of Boston quoted negroes like any other merchandise demanded by their correspondents." In 1737, to Thomas Kilby he writes: "Captain sends you for his private account two young negro men, w^{ch}, if you can get a good price for, pray dispose of them." In the latter portion of Peter's life we find that he plans a voyage to procure negroes. The venture was in shares — one-half owned by himself, one-quarter by his friend John Jones, and one-quarter by the captain, John Cutter. Misfortunes followed in the wake of the snow, and the human freight was never received by the one who planned the venture. But his estate was increased to the amount of his share in twenty negroes sold for £1644.

But this should not militate against the good name of Peter Faneuil. It was the common practice of the time, believed to be right. None knew the enormity of the offence, and consequently to them it was not a crime.

"Him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

CHAPTER VI

Peter Faneuil the "Jolly Bachelor." Intimacy of Faneuils and Jekylls. Death of Collector Jekyll. Peter Faneuil a Business Manager. Peter the Merchant in Love. A Disappointed Bachelor. Colonel Richard Saltonstall wins the Fair Young Lady.

WE have seen that Peter Faneuil has apparently succeeded in steering clear of Cupid's darts, and as a reward for celibacy has received his uncle's fortune, and at the age of thirty-seven has become the reigning power of the house of Faneuil. But a glimpse into another phase of the society of provincial Boston will convince us that appearances are deceptive, and this coveted position was not obtained without sacrifice which cost a struggle from which he probably never recovered.

The "Jolly Bachelor" seems to have been a pseudonym selected by Peter Faneuil, perhaps to call attention to externals, assumed to hide the restless current of his sentimental nature. Boston society, however, inferred that it was the self-satisfied view which he had of himself, when he named one of his ships *Jolly Bachelor* as it left the "ways" and dashed out upon the peaceful bosom of the Atlantic.

No arrangement of domestic affairs at the Tremont Street mansion could have been more to the mind of Andrew Faneuil in his old age than to have his nephew Peter and niece Mary Anne, each in single life, occupying with him the beautiful mansion and sharing the luxuries of his well-kept garden. Theirs was a lot envied by many. As the Faneuil chariot

rolled through the town with Peter and Mary Anne, each occupying a full seat, there were those who halted as it passed, and breathed a mental sigh, "Alas for me, that I am obliged to delve and walk, while they roll in wealth and luxury." When the "Jolly Bachelor" passed up the broad aisle of King's Chapel to his devotions, we doubt not that there were many Boston belles who turned their heads and envied the position of the sister, who reverently followed her brother to their pew, where they together knelt in faithful adherence to the forms of worship.

Among the homes to which young Peter was introduced when coming to Boston was that of the Jekyll family, consisting of the head (the collector of the port) and his queenly wife, with two sons and two daughters, who were not far from his age. Having left the close companionship of his numerous brothers and sisters at New Rochelle, Peter found most congenial society in the collector's home. Joseph and Richard Jekyll, with Peter Faneuil, made a happy trió as they exchanged calls at their respective homes, or went in and out the custom house and the Faneuil warehouses. Peter most generously shared his portion of the Coleman pears from his uncle's garden with these companions. The cinnamon roses, so carefully cultivated by the old Huguenot, were early found before the large pier-glass at the Jekylls' home, and the rarities produced in the Faneuil hothouse were slyly shared with the Misses Hannah and Mary Jekyll.

As time went on, Peter plunged into business, and was not so much in the society of these friends, but their confidence in him strengthened as they watched him in business transactions and philanthropic circles. Peter's sister Mary Anne had come from the old home, and been introduced as a member of Andrew Faneuil's kindred; her society was pleasant for Peter, and he was not so much inclined to seek for that of the neighbors.

In August, 1730, Jonathan Belcher appeared as the governor

of the province. He was of Massachusetts birth, son of Andrew Belcher, one of Andrew Faneuil's contemporaries. Young Jonathan had been sent to England as agent of the colony, and made so favorable an impression on the king, George I., that his Majesty had appointed him as governor of his native province. The coming of the young man in this capacity was an occasion of great pomp and parade in the town. Soon after the new governor had been publicly announced, there was a reception at his residence in Orange Street, now Washington. The people of "quality" in the town were all in attendance. Peter presented his Huguenot sister, to the great delight of Uncle Andrew, who had evident pride in the rising Faneuils. When the company took positions for the dance, Peter and Mary Anne came in touch with the Jekyll ladies, who were introduced, and a mutual admiration at once sprang up between this trio of Boston belles. When the Jekyll sisters displayed their grace in the minuet, Peter's eyes were riveted upon them, and he returned to that mansion with emotions which he had never before experienced. Believing in mental and physical activity as the most effectual antidote for distracting thoughts, Peter made haste on the following morning to his wharf, where he had a ship in process of building. From that to his warehouse and to his uncle's counting-room he made successive calls, but with a divided mind. His preoccupied condition was noticeable to Uncle Andrew, who assigned it to the unusual dissipation of the previous night.

Here was a noble young man, richly endowed by nature, fighting against a divinely implanted germ, which had for the first time begun to assert itself. Peter Faneuil had control of himself — therein was heroism, regardless of the motive that impelled him. Cheer as we will for Benjamin Faneuil, who left all for the affections of a young lady, we can but honor his brother Peter, who mastered himself. "It takes courage to be silent, and strength to sit still."

With a cheerful exterior Peter Faneuil gave close attention to an increasing business, at times manifesting irritability, not strange to the merchants of that period when currency was fluctuating. Even the solemn service at the chapel was not soothing to his troubled spirit; for there, near the Faneuil pew, were the Jekylls in their richly curtained pew. Whether they were all tranquil in mind, Peter longed to know, but dared not trust himself beyond himself. In less than three years the port of Boston was without a collector, the Jekyll pew was shrouded in mourning, and the Faneuils, young and old, were among those who received gloves, while Andrew Faneuil, with Governor Belcher and others of like standing, were honored with mourning rings from the Jekyll heirs. We will not penetrate the mind of Peter Faneuil at this time, lest we find him planning what he would have done had the angel of death entered another door than the Jekylls'.

In the course of settling the estate, the Jekyll heirs found it necessary for them to leave Boston and make a home in England, where they had large investments as the result of the advice of the Faneuils. All the movements incident to the change were trying to the members of the family, but there was one who suffered more keenly, yet without sympathy, for it was all within himself. Out of sight was not out of mind. There were certain duties entrusted to the younger Faneuil by the Jekyll family, for they did not wish to dispose of all their real estate and sever all their connections in this country. These duties Peter most cheerfully assumed, thereby feeling that he had a closer relation with each member of the family. In fact, when signing a receipt for rent in behalf of the Jekylls, he felt he had a personal interest in the welfare of each, and when making a remittance to Robert Jekyll, the oldest son and representative, he never failed to write a most friendly letter, which contained greetings for the entire family, and closed with his characteristic "I salute you, kiss my hand," etc.

When fully occupied with his own business and the added responsibility of caring for his Uncle Andrew's affairs, during his illness, Peter Faneuil received a notice from the Jekyll brothers, of the sailing of their sisters for America, and with it a friendly request that he would look after them when arriving in Boston, "as you have so very kindly offered to do." As one sailing-vessel brought the message, and another bearing the precious freight was not many days behind it, there was but little time for the Boston merchant to make plans for the reception of the wealthy young ladies. He very wisely consulted with his sister, Mary Anne, who, having no intimation of her brother's suppressed longings, at once decided that the young ladies should be their guests in the Faneuil home. "Surely Uncle Andrew will be happy in receiving the daughters of his lamented friend, Collector Jekyll," said Miss Faneuil, when thinking of the Elder's enfeebled condition. This was but courteous and in fulfilment of Peter's kindly offer to the absent ones. But to the merchant there was another side to it. When he made his friendly offer, the broad Atlantic was between them, but now they were nearing his door. Had he been living in the exercise of his real self, this would have been a most delightful hour, but, on the contrary, it was the occasion which obliged him to marshal all his forces to combat himself. The ship arrived and cast anchor at Faneuil's Wharf, the young ladies were welcomed by Peter Faneuil, escorted to his carriage, and conveyed to the Faneuil mansion, and after a temporary rest, to other lodgings, the illness of Uncle Andrew being sufficient reason for the change of plans. The return of these favorites of Boston society was an occasion of pleasant remark with the "quality" of the town, and those of inferior rank were made happy in recalling the many deeds of charity credited to the Jekyll family.

Peter Faneuil devoted himself to the interests of the family, was careful in fulfilling every request from the brothers, deliv-

ered verbally by Miss Mary, the sister who represented the business element of the family. The five per cent which the merchant was so diligent in collecting in ordinary affairs seems to have been remitted; family regard for the memory of the departed collector was so strong that no service was too great for the living. Peter Faneuil's struggle with himself was made doubly severe by the accusations of the jealous, who watched with unremitting interest for the change in authority at the Faneuil home. While no one could have been more circumspect than the merchant, he did not succeed in warding off suspicion on the part of his Uncle Andrew, who, although nearing his end, relaxed not in his control of worldly affairs.

Mr. Faneuil had but little inconvenience from the Jekylls' financial affairs, but his trouble came when the ladies appeared again in Boston society. Favorites when residents of Boston, they were made doubly so through their brief absence, and their presence was courted by the best families. Did Mrs. Thomas Hancock, Lady Belcher, or the Byles sisters receive, the Jekyll sisters were conspicuous in the brilliantly attired company. The Faneuil carriage was ever at their command, and the family servants were ready to do their bidding; but the "Jolly Bachelor" in social circles was met only as one of the guests, conspicuous through his exquisite dress and native courtesy, and in his devotion to his sister, whose presence at his side made it easier for him to seem to be what he was not — a jolly bachelor.

Whether the Jekyll brothers intended that Mr. Faneuil should have an interest in their sisters beyond their financial well-being and personal comfort, the records fail to make mention; but he seems to have regarded himself as the custodian of their hearts, which, under some circumstances, might have been agreeable to either of them, but under his present management was irksome indeed. Tender emotions that had been smouldering in the bosoms of young men of the town, during the years of absence

of these young ladies, were rekindled by their presence, and all unconscious of the restlessness which they were causing, the Jekyll sisters lost no opportunity to make good impressions, greatly to the distress of their business manager.

That evil forebodings are more trying than real calamity, Peter Faneuil found to be a reality, when the condition was reached which warranted open warfare. One Lord Linnington made bold to step forward and make love to Miss Mary Jekyll, the mere rumor of which was enough to cause Peter Faneuil to appear and remonstrate with all his business ability. The case required and received a calm and serious discussion, and it was the one interest of which the bachelor longed to talk. Through repeated discussions he learned the real situation, and was able to diagnose the case with professional correctness, but failing to offer a remedy, his services were not as gratefully received as in other matters. Had Miss Mary ventured to ask, as did the Puritan maiden, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" it would have been of no avail.

Fearing the future, but hoping against the most discouraging symptoms, Peter Faneuil, with a heavy heart, left the Green Dragon Tavern and made his way to the Faneuil mansion. On an early Sabbath, when Peter and Mary Anne Faneuil sat comfortably ensconced in their richly curtained pew at the chapel, the "Jolly Bachelor" was aroused from his nap by hearing the familiar voice of the town clerk reading the marriage intention of Lord Linnington and Miss Mary Jekyll. There was no more rest or worship in the Faneuil pew during that service. Mr. Faneuil lost no time in instituting a new course of treatment. He immediately arranged for the ladies to go out of town for a change, and was made quite comfortable by a promise from Miss Mary that the intention of her marriage with the "Lord" should not be again proclaimed. It was with feelings of peculiar satisfaction that the bachelor made arrangements for the Misses Jekyll to have a pleasant home with a family of his

friends at Haverhill, and it was a relief to him when he saw the ladies seated in the Faneuil carriage and started for their new home, where he felt that they were to be safe from every invasion.

But after more mature consideration, he decided that it would be better to have them return to their brothers in England. The ladies seemed not to be averse to the plan, and Mr. Faneuil made all the needful arrangements for the journey across the ocean. When the ship was ready to sail, they were called to Boston, but only one responded at the hour set for the departure, and the merchant delayed the vessel until he could have time to pen the following letter of explanation : —

“MR. RICHARD BLACKET JEKYLL :

“Doubtless you’ll be surprised to find that by this opportunity, only yr. sister, Mrs. Hannah of the family who I hope will arrive safe to you, has the pleasure of seeing you and her other brother in England. I am sorry Mrs. Mary does not consult her own interest so much as I could wish, whose conduct I should say nothing of were it not out of regard to the family in generall. It is now only one month past since she suffered herself to be published to one Mr. Linnington of St. Christophers, formerly known here by the name of My Lord Linnington, or My Lord, whose character, if you remember the man, I need not trouble you wth a repetition of it, but if you do not, I can only say that he is a worthless pretender to a great deal of money and witt, without, according to the best account I can learn, any of either, wth whom she would inevitably have been married had not some other friends joined forces wth me and interposed. Indeed I send you my letter to her on that head and her answer for y^r more private satisfaction. That affair being tolerably well over and Capt. Thomas’ state room hired for the two Ladies and their maid, and I had supplied them according to y^r desire wth what money they might have occa-

sion of to fitt them out for the voyage and paid the Capt. for their laying in and tomorrow being the time appointed to go aboard, I was this morning advised that Mrs. Mary had changed her mind on account of some new proposals of matrimony made her by Colonel Saltonstall of Haverhill which sudden alteration I find to be on examination from a visit or two within ye two or three days last past, at farthest, but have even concluded upon and determined so that she does not come to you. Who has been the Lady's adviser I know not, but much fear it has been carried on by one and the other, with the privacy and knowledge of him who it would have become better to have been ignorant of anything of this nature, which you may be sure cannot but in some measure or other reflect on the lady's conduct in being concerned in two such precipitated engagements so very soon. I presume y^r. sister Hannah will give you a whole detail of the proceedings from whom it will come much better than from me altho' I have as great regard for any of you as any person."

This bachelor in his anxiety writes a separate letter to Mr. Joseph Jekyll. It is in substance what he has so minutely penned to the brother Richard. He says: "I am very sorry the lady's inclinations to matrimony, especially in this part of the world should rob you of the pleasure of seeing her in England, where I am convinced it will be for her interest to be, and to wch. I've done my utmost to persuade her and am sure whoever has influenced her in ye affair cannot be her friends. . . . I had the pleasure to put a stop to Mrs. Mary's marriage with a person very unworthy of her. I thought it would be her last of that nature, for the present, but there is no accounting for the sex in affairs of love." This sudden influence and precipitate power of love surprises our lymphatic bachelor. He was astonished that so much could be accomplished in three days, when he had completed almost forty years and made no record in that direction. A few visits at the last gave all the time that the anxious Peter could find had been spent in

courtship, but he did not take into account the fact that Colonel Richard Saltonstall was a widower, and like others in similar affliction lost no opportunity to appropriate such comfort as awaited him.

We can but regret the absence of Peter's letter to the incorrigible maiden, and hers in reply to the merchant, but must content ourselves with the inference that he had occasion to regret that he had flittered away his day of grace while the brilliant colonel seized the prize, leaving the "Jolly Bachelor" to lament, —

"Of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these: 'It might have been!'"

Leaving the famous Saltonstall family as they have received added strength through union with the Jekyll family, we return to the Faneuil house to find our stolid bachelor and sister, Mary Anne, seated about the stout mahogany board, spread with choice London silver, and burdened with luxuries of all lands; but they are surfeited of all this, and almost weary of a life that pays tribute to Cæsar. Even Peter Faneuil has his moments when he resolves to cut loose from all restraint and act himself; but with that resolution there rises up before him a repetition of his brother Benjamin's fate, and he is aware that it is not too late for Uncle Andrew, who is of sound and disposing mind and memory, to change his entire plan with but the stroke of his quill. While yet struggling beneath the cloud of his greatest disappointment, when mansions, warehouses, ships, and bonds are of but little comfort to the merchant, the great change at the Faneuil home comes, and the Jekylls abroad were made aware of it by the receipt of mourning rings from Peter Faneuil, executor and residuary legatee of the estate of Andrew Faneuil, deceased.

CHAPTER VII

A Duel in Boston. Noted Families involved. Benjamin Woodbridge slain by Henry Phillips. Phillips's Escape to France. Professional Men intercede for the Pardon of the Murderer. New Laws against Duelling in the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

IN Granary Burying Ground, at the left of the entrance and within a few feet of Tremont Street, stands a modest memorial, erect in its place as when it first bore testimony to the love of bereaved parents. This gravestone, probably the product of a Welsh quarry, was undoubtedly the work of a stone-cutter in England, who, unlike modern mortuary sculptors, made no attempt to advertise his name. In material, ornamentation, and workmanship it is a good specimen of the memorials of the early part of the eighteenth century, having the grotesque head and wings, the sculptor's conception of angelic form, together with the perpendicular border, commonly found on ancient gravestones. This stone might have been regarded as old when the victims of the Boston Massacre were interred in a common grave of that burial-place. It is free from epitaph, affording simply the ordinary data. But had the whole story been recorded, we should read—the victim of a duel fought in Boston.

The sword as an article of a gentleman's costume was frequently seen in the town, but a duel in Boston, one hundred and seventy-one years ago, aroused the people as it would to-day. It was a 4th of July morning when the sad report was circu-

lated through the town. It was not the time of "extra editions," "specials," etc., but official notice was soon made of the event, as Governor Dummer's proclamation bears testimony:—



"Whereas a barbarous murder was last night committed, on the body of Benjamin Woodbridge, a young gentleman, resident of the town of Boston; and Henry Phillips, of said town, is suspected to be the author of said murder, and is now fled from justice; I have therefore thought proper to issue this proclamation, hereby commanding all justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers, within this Province, and requiring all others, in his Majesty's name, to use their utmost endeavor that the said Henry Phillips may be apprehended and brought to justice; and all persons, whosoever, are commanded, at their utmost peril, not to harbor nor conceal him. The said Henry Phillips is a fair young man, about the age of twenty-two years, well set, and well dressed: and has a wound in one of his hands. Given at Boston, the 4th of July, 1728, in the second year of the reign

of our Sovereign Lord and King George II." Signed "William Dummer, Governor."

The *New England Weekly Journal* of July 8 has the following: "On Thursday last, the 4th current, about 3 in the morning, after some hours' search, was found dead, near the Powder House, the body of Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, a young gentleman, merchant of this place. He had a small stab, under the right arm; but what proved fatal to him was a thrust he received, under his right breast, which came out, at the small of his back. The forefinger of his left hand was almost cut off, at the uppermost joint, supposed to be done by grasping a naked sword. The Coroner's inquest immediately set upon the body; and, after the best information and evidence they could obtain, upon their oaths say, that the said Benjamin Woodbridge was killed, with a sword, run through his body, by the hands of Henry Phillips, of Boston, merchant, on the Common, in said Boston, on the third of this instant, as appears to us, by sundry evidences: The body was carried to the house of Mr. Jonathan Sewall, (his partner) and on Saturday last, was decently and handsomely interred, his funeral being attended, by the Commander-in-Chief, several of the Council, and most of the Merchants and gentlemen of the town. But the above, being plain matters of fact, we thought it not improper to give the public an account thereof. The unhappy gentleman, who is supposed to have committed the act, is not yet found. This new and almost unknown case has put the whole town into great surprise."

Judge Sewall's interleaved almanac has the following:—

"4th July 1728 Poor Mr. Benj'm. Woodbridge is found dead in the Comon. this morning, below the Powderhouse, with a Sword-thrust through him, and his own Sword undrawn. Henry Phillips is suspected. The Town is amazed!" On the 4th, Rev. Joseph Sewall, son of Judge Sewall, and pastor of Old South Church, made a record of the event, and also, on the 18th, preached on the subject of the duel.

Such were the official and other notices of the event, but "Why introduce the subject here?" and "What of Henry Phillips?" Boston's first duel is here considered because of the part which the Faneuil family played in that tragic feature of Boston's history. Henry Phillips was the brother of Gillam Phillips, who, as we have seen, married Marie, sister of Peter



HON. DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE

Faneuil. Phillips and his victim both were connected with the best families of the province and were social favorites of the town. Shurtleff says Woodbridge was son of a gentleman of some distinction in Barbadoes, one of the magistrates there, who had formerly been settled in the ministry, as pastor of the church in Groton, Connecticut. The young man had been recently admitted to business as a partner with Mr. Jonathan Sewall, one of the most active merchants in the place. The unfortunate survivor was a graduate of Harvard College, and

associated with his brother Gillam as successors of their father, Samuel Phillips, leading booksellers of the place.

The occasion of the act, whatever it may have been, had no mitigating effect upon the mind of young Phillips, who from the moment of the fatal thrust was a self-condemned man. "Out, damned spot," was his distracted cry, but all to no avail. In cover of the same shadow which had screened both young men, when stealing their way to the Common, Phillips glided through the town to his home, but not to carry cheer to the heart of his widowed mother. It was to seek help to make good his escape before the strong arm of the law should be laid upon him. Brother Gillam and wife, Marie Faneuil, were entrusted with the fatal secret, and as quick as man could go, Gillam Phillips was on his way to the Faneuil mansion, and Peter was aroused and made a partner in the secret. Whether he stopped to consider the right and wrong of his act, we do not know, but his sympathetic nature was soon in action to aid the suffering man. Before the early sun of that July morning had dried the victim's blood from the sod of Boston Common, Phillips was well on his way to France. The incidents of this night of sorrow have been well given by "A Sexton of the Old School," and to his report the following is credited.

Phillips was first conducted by Peter Faneuil to the house of Colonel Estes Hatch, and there concealed. His brother Gillam, in the meantime, applied to Captain John Winslow of the pink *Molly*, for a boat to carry Henry on board the British man-of-war then lying between the Castle and Spectacle Island. Gillam and the captain went to Hatch's and had an interview with Peter and Henry, in the yard, as a result of which they made haste to Gibbs's Wharf, screened on the way by a dense fog that had floated inland greatly to their relief. Gillam Phillips and the captain of the *Molly* had gone to Long Wharf, taking a boat and four of the pink's crew, and made their way around among the craft that lay at anchor, to where Peter Faneuil and

his heart-stricken companion were anxiously waiting. The sound of the boatmen's oars splashing along toward that modern Cain for the moment seemed a relief ; the boat touched the wharf, then came the final grasp of Phillips's and Faneuil's hands, the boat was turned from the shore, and the rowers gave way. But that fog, favorable at one moment, was a later trouble. They ran on shore at Dorchester Neck, but at length reached the *Shurness*, man-of-war. They were received on board. Captain Conrad and Lieutenant Pritchard very naturally were disposed to sympathize with the sufferer. They looked upon him as the hero of a most chivalrous act. Having told the whole story, Gillam Phillips took leave of his brother and made his way back to Boston, to find the town in a state of warranted excitement. But the search for the murderer had ceased, for the people were well aware that he had made good his escape.

At an early hour, Governor Dummer's proclamation was in the hands of some trusty compositor, in the office of Samuel Kneeland in Queen Street, and soon the poster with its double header was seen upon all the town pumps and chief corners of the streets, as was the custom of the day.

The alert Peter doubtless had secured a copy, and in the quiet of his counting-room was reading it all to himself. Just how he felt when coming to this clause, "and all persons, who-soever, are commanded at their utmost peril, not to harbor nor conceal him," we do not know, but he seems not to have withheld his testimony when examined with others, before Justice Elisha Cook on that 4th of July. The examination removed all doubt as to the guilt of Henry Phillips ; for John Cutler, the doctor who dressed his wounds, testified that Henry Phillips told him that he had quarrelled with Woodbridge and wounded him, he feared mortally. Dr. George Pemberton also testified to meeting Henry Phillips at the Sun Tavern and receiving the confession of the sad affair. Captain John Winslow told how he was aroused at eleven o'clock the previous night by Mr. Gil-

lam Phillips, who wanted a boat to carry off his brother Henry, who had wounded or killed a man, and also told the events that followed until the young man was off on the boat. The men of the *Molly's* crew were also summoned to tell their part in that night's escape.

On the second Tuesday of August, 1728, the grand jurors, under Attorney-general Hiller's instructions, found a bill against Henry Phillips for the murder of Benjamin Woodbridge; but Phillips was beyond its effect on the high seas, a far greater sufferer than if in Boston in the hands of the law of the province. He felt himself condemned by the silent ruling of an impartial judge who held court within his stricken soul as in each offending mortal.

The feelings of that young man, when left with strangers on board the *Shurness*, are beyond imagination. His gallantry, in the estimation of the gentlemen of the wardroom, must have furnished a ready passport to their hearts. He had killed his man, come off first best as they regarded it, and was a hero indeed in the minds of some; but Phillips had no relish for their approbation; he was already stricken with a malady which terminated his life, as we are to infer from information brought to light by our authority, the old Sexton.

On that fatal night, Peter Faneuil gave the wanderer letters of introduction to his uncle, Jean (John) Faneuil, at Rochelle, France, who, we have learned, remained in his native land at the time of the flight of others of the family. This uncle, no doubt, received the young man with his characteristic kindness, and plied him with many questions as to the well-being of his brother Andrew, and the children of his deceased brother Benjamin, now located in Boston. It did not require much time to discover the distracted state of mind of the visitor. Every remedy within John Faneuil's power was applied to relieve the sufferer, but to no avail; his mother was notified of his hopeless condition, and the same sympathizing Peter Faneuil aided

the widow, Madame Hannah Phillips, to make the journey to France, where her son was anxiously waiting for her. Her arrival there was, however, too late for the young man to receive his mother's forgiveness.

Strong sympathy existed in Boston and vicinity for Henry Phillips, the most influential men joining in an effort to relieve him. There were eighty-eight who subscribed their names to the document bearing the following : —

"These may certify to all whom it may concern, that we, the subscribers, well knew, and esteemed Mr. Henry Phillips of Boston, in New England, to be a youth of a very affable, courteous, and peaceable behavior and disposition, and never heard he was addicted to quarrelling, he being soberly brought up, in the prosecution of his studies, and living chiefly an academical life ; and verily believe him slow to anger, and with difficulty moved to resentment."

Among these names very naturally appeared that of Andrew Faneuil and his nephews, Peter and Benjamin ; but as they were family connections, they would not carry the weight of others.

This statement was given added significance by the governor's certificate, bearing the seal of the province : "By his Excellency, William Burnet, etc. These may certify whom it may concern, that John Wentworth Esquire is Lieut. Governor of the Province of New Hampshire; that William Tailor Esquire was formerly Lieut. Governor of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and is now a member of his Majesty's Council for said Province; that James Stevens is Surveyor General of the Customs, for the Northern district, in America; that Thomas Lechmere Esquire was late Surveyor General of the same; that John Jekyll Esquire is Collector of the Customs, for the port of Boston; that Thomas Steele is Justice of the Peace; that William Lambert Esquire is Contrroller of the Customs at Boston; that J. Minzier Esquire was Judge of the Vice Admiralty; that Messieurs Timothy Cutler, Henry Harris, George Pigot and

Ebenezer Miller are ministers of the Gospel; and that the other subscribers to the certificate on the other side are some of them merchants and others gentlemen of the town of Boston."

The name of Governor Burnet was added, and the date affixed was October 21, 1728.

Only about ten months elapsed between the death of Benjamin Woodbridge on Boston Common and the death of Henry Phillips at Rochelle, France, but it was a time when the two branches of the Faneuil family had occasion to exchange frequent messages. No vessel left Boston bound for France, that did not carry some message to Uncle John Faneuil and Henry Phillips. The whole correspondence in that line concluded at length with an adjustment of the bills incurred during the last illness of "Monsieur Henry Phillipe" from the 4th of April to the 20th of May, 1729.

A startling calamity usually results in amending laws found to be ineffectual, or in closing avenues which have proved to be fatal to life or limb. Boston's duel of 1728 resulted in repealing the law of 1719 and of enacting one more stringent. A session of the General Court of the province began on July 24, 1728, when the scene of the 4th of the same month was fresh in the minds of all. The first business done was to provide that "who ever shall be so hardy and wicked as to fight a duel,—upon being convicted thereof, shall for every such offence be carried publickly in a cart to the gallows, with a rope about his neck, and sit on the gallows for the space of one hour, with a rope about his neck as aforesaid and then be committed to the common gaol of the County for twelve months." The body of a person killed in a duel was denied a Christian burial, and was placed, without a coffin, in a grave near the usual place of execution, and a stake driven through the body. And if the survivor of a duel was convicted of murder and made to suffer death, his body was given the same vindictive treatment as though he had been the victim of the duel.

CHAPTER VIII

Peter Faneuil's Great Interest in the Markets of the Town. Early Market Customs in England and America. Legislation in Regard to Marketing in Boston. Robert Keayne's Bequest for a Market. Three Markets established. Their Failure. Mob Law in Boston. How Family Supplies were furnished in Colonial Days.

WITH all his love of display and good living, Peter Faneuil was a public-spirited citizen. While he was engrossed in the distracting cares of an extensive commercial business, and absorbed in the exhilarating pleasures of the passing hour, and while a comparatively young man, he had a vital interest in the welfare of his neighbors and friends as well as in the future good of the town of Boston. From his own experience he realized the disadvantages under which trade was conducted without a local market. He had a fervent desire to see some improvement in this direction, and manifested a willingness to aid in securing it.

Before considering the method adopted by Peter Faneuil to give force to his heart's desire, it may be well to turn backward and learn something of early market customs, and see what had been the course pursued in the town of Boston.

The market-place of the mother country was of much importance and under the control of special law. The legalized market was usually in an open space, where people could buy and sell under certain prescribed conditions. It was usually the rule of English law that a buyer in open market got a good

title to his purchase, though the seller might not have a good title.

While the immigrants and their successors in New England must have had the English market laws and customs in mind when they established themselves here, the open market law was never introduced. But the holding of a market or a fair was in some instances made a condition or a charter privilege.

An interesting case was that of the settlement of New Castle, New Hampshire, the charter of which was given on the thirtieth day of May, 1693. It provides "that they shall have and enjoy and use the ferry the days of the fairs of New Castle aforesaid, forever, to be held there every Wednesday, and one fair for two days, to wit, on the first Tuesday and Wednesday of July, forever, together with all issues and profits to the said market and fair."

The founders of Boston were tardy in setting apart a place for a market. So delinquent were they that students of its annals have been at much pains to find the occasion of this delay.

In 1633-1634 Winthrop records that an order was passed by the Court of Assistants for the "Erection of a Mercate" in Boston, to be kept open on Thursdays, the public lecture day. This is thought to have referred only to a gathering of buyers and sellers at one place and not to any building, although in 1635 there is a record of an order, "that all the timber be taken away from the market, and gotten clear, and saw pits gotten filled up." This timber must have come into the town by the dock, and the saw-pits were not far away. There is also a record at this time, that "the selectmen desired to lay a floor in the market place at the northerly part of the town." This may have been a plan to keep people out of water and mud when standing in the market-place.

The spot where the old State House stands, at the head of State Street, was made the market-place. Other towns soon made application for the privileges of a market town, and

Charlestown and Salem were granted the right. Boston was made a fair town in 1648. Salem, Dorchester, and Watertown were also authorized to hold semiannual fairs. Lynn was early made a market town.

In 1654 there was another order in Boston, which is inexplicable. It was "that the guns in the market place be trimmed up against the court [meeting] of the selectmen annually."

But we do not infer from any of these arrangements that market houses were established. We have no record of an effort to provide a house for a market until that found in the last will of Robert Keayne, probated in 1656. He is remembered as the founder of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, while living, and by various strange provisions made in his last will—a most voluminous document. Among the provisions is the following:—

"I having long thought and considered of the want of some necessary things of public concernment which may not be only commodious, but very profitable and usefull for the Town of Boston, as a market place and cundit, the one a good helpe in danger of fyre . . . the other usefull for the country people that come with their provisions for the supply of the towne, that they may have a place to sett dry in and warme, both in cold raine and durty weather, and may have a place to leave their corne or any other things safe that they cannot sell, till they come again, which would be both an encouragement to come in and a great means to increase trading in the Towne also."

This early benefactor of the town of Boston bequeathed £300 "in good merchantable pay" for the purpose set forth in his will. But the "market place" seems not to have been provided as Mr. Keayne intended, or, if provided, it came to an end when the first town house was burned, October, 1711. A sort of go-as-you-please course was in vogue for many years after this will was allowed.

It was this wealthy and influential citizen who inaugurated a

movement for the erection of the first town house in Boston, which was built in 1658, on the site occupied by the old State House at present, opposite which was the residence of this early benefactor.

In the act passed by the General Court for granting aid toward the erection of this public building it was stipulated that a place underneath should be free for the purposes of a market. Assuming that the early countrymen did have a place "to sett dry in and warme," in the open space beneath the market, we turn to look for some of the legal provisions for this important class of people.

It was in December, 1695, that an act was passed forbidding the sale of imported provisions at wholesale until three days' notice by public crier had been given. This was an act in favor of the poor people, who were thus to have the opportunity to buy in small quantities at wholesale rates. The town of Boston repeatedly restricted the purchase of provisions at the Neck brought in from the country.

In the spring of 1696 it was ordered that a market be held in Boston every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. It was ordered that a bell should be rung at the opening of the market at 7 A.M. from March to May, and at 6 A.M. from May to September, and after that at 9 A.M. The market hours were till 6 P.M. between March and September, and the other time till 4 P.M.

The market bell was a thing of very early origin, and the custom was readily adopted by the Boston citizens as an important feature of the market, when they reached the point of establishing such. Shakespeare tells of the custom in 1 Henry VI. iii. 2, 16: "Enter, go in; the market bell is rung."

With this plan there was a rule adopted whereby retailers, hucksters, and traders could not buy until the afternoon, in order that housekeepers might have the benefit of the early chance. Clerks were ordered to be appointed by the selectmen for the enforcement of rules.

While all this implies an established market, it is not apparent that one was set up for some years. Public sentiment needful to make law effectual was very much against the market; this opposition may have been increased by a fear on the part of the Puritans that the market cross, often set up in England, Scotland, and on the Continent, might be introduced on these shores, and they were willing to submit to any inconvenience rather than have the semblance of that power from which they had striven so hard to rid themselves.

In Uring's description of Boston in 1709 is read: "The town of Boston is plentifully supplied with good and wholesome provisions of all sorts, not inferior to those of England. Though the town is large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a market in it, notwithstanding several of their governors have taken great pains to convince the inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to 'em, but the country people always oppose it.

"Their reason is, if market days were appointed all the country people coming in at the same time would glut it, and the townspeople would buy their provisions for what they pleased. So they rather choose to send them as they think fit, and sometimes a tall fellow brings a turkey or goose to sell, and will travel through the whole town to see who will give the most for it, and it is at last sold for 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.*, and if he had stayed at home he could have earned a crown by his labor."

Longfellow, in "Tales of a Wayside Inn" (the Saga of King Olaf), seems to describe this situation when he quotes:—

"What's the use
Of this bragging up and down,
When three women and one goose
Make a market in your town!"

This seeming stupidity on the part of the country people had its effect, and it was not until 1717 that more effectual action

was taken. Complaints were frequently made by the people of Boston that they were being imposed upon by the hucksters, and the subject of a market was again before the voters.

It was decided that the remedy was to come through the erection of a public market house. Then Dr. Benjamin Colman published a pamphlet in favor of it. This was a subject for debate from meeting to meeting, and when it finally came to a vote, it was disallowed. But some good resulted from the apparent wrong. Restrictions were put upon the hucksters and house-to-house pedlers, but it was not until much later that a majority vote to erect market houses was carried.

When the desired unanimity was secured, arrangements were made for establishing three market-places. Seven hundred pounds was appropriated for defraying the expenses of providing the needful buildings. The committee entrusted with this important town business consisted of Thomas Fitch, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Palmer, and Jacob Wendall, Esqrs.; Mr. James Watson, Mr. Francis Willoughby, and Mr. John Steel. Three locations were selected: one in the vicinity of Essex Street, one in Dock Square, where Faneuil Hall Market was later erected, and a third was the open space near the old North Meeting-house, called North Square. The nearness of market and meeting-house was doubtless a following of the plan in the old country, as was Robert Keayne's plan of having one opposite the first meeting-house.

This project, long contemplated, was one of great moment, and required the greatest strength of will on the part of the gentlemen entrusted with the execution of the plans. Proposals were regularly received "touching the demolition and repairing and leasing out the old buildings in Dock Square belonging to the town."

When ready for use, an order was passed for the markets to be kept open every day in the week, except Sundays and such days as the government might appoint in which religious ser-

vices were to be held. Market hours were from sunrise to one o'clock in the afternoon, and a bell was to be rung at the hour of opening.

June 4, 1734, was the first real market-day, when the market-houses provided, sanctioned, and protected by town government were opened. It was a red-letter day for Boston, a good parallel for that of 163 years later, when the Subway was opened to the use of the public, not a few of the recent company being descendants of those who first went to the markets of the town. It was a day of history, and we are indebted to the newspapers of the time for a record of the proceedings.

"The concourse of people, sellers, buyers and spectators was very considerable, abundance of provisions were brought for sale. Those that exceeded in goodness and cheapness went off quickly, but those that were poor or dear more slowly." There were no middlemen; the farmers sold their own produce, and the fishermen their own catch.

All this record convinces us that we, the descendants of those dealers, have the same habits—the love of good eating being no modern development, while the regard for the money was a trait of our honored ancestors.

One feels like pausing here and expressing relief that the people of Boston and vicinity, after more than a century of loose marketing, have well-regulated, systematic market-places.

We cannot help concluding that such an arrangement must have met with public favor. But they soon learned the truth of the Scotch singer:—

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a-gley."

Contentions were still kept up among the people as to whether they would be served at their own doors in the old way, or resort to fixed localities; the feelings of the people were intense, and these local markets became unpopular in less than four years of trial, and were abandoned.

The market house at the North End was taken down, and the timber was used in another public building. That at the South End was converted into stores and rented, while the first market house in Dock Square met a different fate. The opponents to a local market took the matter into their own hands, and being determined to ruin, if they could not rule, they disguised themselves as clergymen on a dark night of the year 1737 and tore the house down.

Although void of any market house, the land in this locality continued to be known as a market-place, having been thus designated by popular consent from the very early years of the century. The section at the north of the dock was known as the fish market. The entire locality had been the town's section for business activity from its days of small beginnings.

The first paragraph of the records establishes the fact that in 1634 this was the chief landing-place. Shaw says:—

"The chief part of the town was built on the cove or bay which has since been called the town dock," Dock Square being a more modern form of expression.

At the time when the Dock Square market house was razed by the band of wolves in sheep's clothing, or, to be more explicit, the citizens who stole the livery of heaven to serve the devil with, the families of Boston were not as dependent upon the country people for domestic supplies as in later days. A large portion of the milk consumed was produced in the town. Each family of good standing kept one or more cows, and the raising of live stock was encouraged by vote in town meeting. Herds of cows grazed on the Common and quenched their thirst at the Frog Pond, where for generations the children have found their great delight.

Our present State House site was Hancock's pasture. Cattle and sheep were seen in large numbers on the islands and other lands not far away. There was no restriction upon the raising of hogs, and from these different sources came a good deal of

the meat consumed. In fact, it was the case of a stray sow that left an impress on the "Great and General Assembly."

In early colonial times swine were allowed to run at large, if properly yoked; but it chanced that one small pig strayed from its owner's pen, and was taken to the before-mentioned Robert Keayne, who had it cried a number of days, but no one appearing to lay claim and prove property, the stray pig was daily cared for with one of the captain's. He fed it for a year, and just as he had killed it a woman came and laid claim to it, charging the captain with theft.

A scandal arose in the church, and they held a thorough investigation of the pig case and cleared the captain. Not satisfied, the woman carried the case to the superior court, with similar result. The General Court was then invoked, and seven days were spent in the trial without a verdict, neither side having received a majority vote of the nine magistrates and thirty deputies. It was, however, later settled in favor of Captain Robert Keayne. The contention did not cease until 1644, and then the General Court was divided into magistrates and deputies or, as later styled, senators and representatives.

The family supplies not produced in town were brought in by the farmers outside, who gladly exchanged their extra quantity for such articles of West India produce as they could afford. The days of itinerant marketing were not free from troubles.

In 1728 there were so many dogs in Boston that the butchers were greatly annoyed by them, and an order was passed that no person should keep any dog in the town above ten inches in height.

A writer of that time says: "Their beef, mutton and lamb are as good as ever I desire to eat, and as to their veal it is not so white and fine, in common as in London, yet I have often met with it exceeding white as any I would wish to eat." (The butchers had not then begun to practise the habit of taking away the blood of calves by degrees and thus bleach the veal,

while they robbed it of the nutritious juice which it otherwise contained — a habit which has now been abolished, and red veal is accepted as of superior quality.)

“And as to their pork, they challenge all the world, and will by no means admit that any we have in England is equal to it, and indeed I do think it very good.”

“They make but little bacon, and that, in my opinion, is not half so good as ours, but they pickle their pork so well that it answers the same end as fine bacon. Their poultry, too, of all sorts, are as fine as can be desired, and they have plenty of fine fish of various kinds, all of which are very cheap. Take the butchers’ meat altogether in the several seasons of the year and I believe it is about two pence per pound sterling, though they will not allow it to be near so much if they are asked about it, because the best beef and mutton, lamb and veal are often sold for six pence per pound of New England, which is some small matter more than one penny sterling.

“Poultry in their season is exceedingly cheap; a good turkey may be bought for about two shillings sterling as we can buy at London for six or seven, and as large and fine a goose for ten pence as would cost three shillings and six pence or four shillings in London. Fowl, too, are cheap in proportion. The first young ones that come to market are sold for about three pence and a chicken for about two pence. But the cheapest of all the several kinds of poultry are a sort of wild pigeon which are in season the latter end of June and so continue till September. They are sold here for eighteen pence a dozen.”

Pigeons of late years have been classed as game, but as far as New England productions are concerned, they are a luxury of the past. Yet it is within the memory of the oldest marketmen that there was frequently an oversupply of this sort of game.

In habit these birds were peculiarly interesting, and in flavor, when prepared for food, decidedly luscious. In pigeon season flocks of them might be seen going down from the country to

the seacoast every morning at daybreak and returning at early nightfall, moving over the country very rapidly. The flocks were so large and numerous that they would obscure the sun like a passing cloud.

Various means were employed to decoy and capture them, and the expert hunter was frequently rewarded by as many as he could carry at one catch, and he was well paid at the market, while the town epicures were made happy by the feasts in pigeon season.

There was the wild goose season, and the marketmen counted on this game for an attraction. The geese never failed to pay semiannual visits to this section of New England. In fact, not a few of the early settlers regulated their farm work by the flight of the geese. They were a sort of weather bureau. Their squawking in the spring, while on their journey northward, was unmistakable evidence that the time was at hand when the seed could be put in.

They were not then so often troubled by the hunter, for they were likely to be lean; but when retracing their course in the autumn, giving due warning of the approach of winter, they were sleek and fat, and were killed for the market, when the Bostonians were fully gratified.

The early families who occupied the houses of Boston were easily supplied with bear meat as well as game from the forests near at hand.

As late as 1725, within two miles of Boston, twenty bears were killed in one week in the month of September. Paul Dudley notes that on June 7, 1740, "a good fat bear was killed on our Meeting House Hill or near it." This was in Roxbury.

A haunch of venison was to be obtained in the market, and by its sale the farmers of the neighborhood were rewarded for the capture. But the people began to be alarmed when the sleek deer were hunted until they no longer graced the forests of New England.

It was then that the town chose annually deer reeves to protect the animals and thus enforce the laws made to prevent the extermination of deer.

The same reporter of the provision supply has recorded that they had fish in abundance.

"They sell a fine fresh cod, that will weigh a dozen pounds or more, just taken out of the sea, which are generally alive, for about twopence sterling."

The cod was the recognized symbol of the Massachusetts Bay. It was represented on their money. A stamp act of 1756 recognized it, and the authorities put the rude representation over their heads in their legislative hall.

The people of Boston were well supplied with good fruit in great variety before the days of displaying the luscious productions in the market. Some of the varieties were of natural production, found here when the Puritans began their work on the peninsula. Of these were grapes, strawberries, raspberries, huckleberries, cranberries, and cherries. These served to gratify the palate of the early generations, and are not at present entirely disregarded, although the horticulturist has improved upon nature's offering until the fruit that gratified the tooth of Governor Winthrop is now looked upon with contempt.

Strawberry Hill may perpetuate by name the fact of its once tempting crop, but the modern garden is preferred by those who seek for the tempting strawberry.

It was not long before the enterprising settlers introduced apples, pears, and cherries of superior quality, and the mother country could not offer more tempting fruits.

Before the advantage of an established market was enjoyed by buyer and seller, the products of large orchards were offered at the doors of Boston homes.

"At the latter end of summer, which way soever we travel, the fruits hang so thick by the wayside that we may gather them from the trees with almost as little trouble as to take them

from one's own pocket. There are plenty of fine peaches which grow upon trees, and all the natural growth of America. Some of them are so fine as the best we have in England, which we buy here for about three-pence a peck. The common sort are so little regarded that they feed their hogs with them."

Besides the indigenous fruits and varieties from England, there were others introduced by the French, who brought many choice varieties of fruits and flowers from their native land, which contributed much to the gratification of the palate as well as the eye.

The large estates of the wealthy Bostonians were not complete without spacious, well-kept gardens, rivalling in many instances the gardens of India in splendor. Those of the Johonnot family are subjects of history. Daniel Johonnot bequeathed his beautiful garden to his son Andrew as a choice legacy, and it was secured to the third generation by a family provision. The gardens of Zachariah Johonnot were inherited by his son Peter. It is recorded that these were filled with rare fruit trees, beautiful flowers and shrubs from the "dear fatherland." Tradition says that every tree, shrub, and flower came from France, and that these gardens were very extensive.

Many were the instances when the country people, on their marketing tours from house to house, secured scions and seeds from these gardens and thus spread the choice varieties through the country towns. Apple and pear trees remained for many years in some localities of Boston.

Children's children were wont to gather the little cinnamon roses that seemed determined to defy the ravages of time and neglect. The great yellow marigold and sunflower were conspicuous in the gardens of Boston, while the trumpet vines climbed over neatly made trellises. The hollyhock was one of the prides of the day, but soon resented neglect, and gave up the attempt; but the purple lilac was never discouraged, and in many a barren country pasture asserts its right to life on

each returning spring, and alone, or perhaps with some prickly pear, gives the only hint to the site of the residence of a once flourishing farm-house.

How gratifying to the early gardeners and marketmen it would be to see their stray stalks of asparagus propagated and improved until this delicacy, used only by the wealthy, has become a common article of food for sale in our market. Instead of there being only a few sprays to spare to be put in the fireplace during the months of summer, there are now great fields of its feathery branches waving in the summer breezes.

When the supplies for the Boston tables came from the gardens of the town, there was a department for the culture of roots and herbs and medicinal sweet mint, so much prized in the old families.

The lavender, too, was freely cultivated, and each housewife failed not to lay in a liberal stock of it, in order that her best bed might be perfumed with the pleasant odor.

Ann Jane Boyden's flower garden on Tremont Street, with its tangle of brilliant, old-fashioned flowers, is within the memory of many citizens of Boston to-day, who have not forgotten the time when itinerant marketing was popular in the town.

CHAPTER IX

Peter Faneuil's Bold Effort to have a Local Market. Leading Men petition to be heard on the Subject. Warrant for Town Meeting to act on Peter Faneuil's Offer to give a Market. Scenes of Excitement on Boston Streets and in Public Houses. Faneuil Hall an Afterthought. Peter Faneuil's Gift secured by a Majority of Seven Votes. Committee meet to stake out the Ground. John Smibert the Architect. Samuel Ruggles the Builder. Market Sentiment changes. House cheerfully accepted. Hall over the Market named. To be called Faneuil Hall forever. Resolutions of Thanks to Peter Faneuil. The Donor's Picture procured. Faneuil Arms bought for the Hall. First Public Meeting in Faneuil Hall. Joshua Blanchard a Famous Brick Mason. Peter Faneuil goes to Market for Family Supplies. Other Public Buildings of Note.

PETER FANEUIL'S experience as master of a house led him to realize the disadvantage under which trade was conducted with no market house as a centre of exchange, "and people forced to go out upon the neck and spend a great part of the day in providing necessaries for their families, to the great hinderance of business and loss and damage of the town." He would much rather go to a market to give orders for family supplies, than spend time going out to the Neck or have his household continually disturbed by the countrymen, who came, when allowed, on horseback to the door, with saddle-bags filled with the products of their farms. It was this general condition of business management, in the domestic line, that prompted him to make a venture regardless of the known opposition still existing against a public market. He had seen in the opposition thus far manifested the most stubborn selfishness. Yet he did not hesitate to submit the subject to another test.

He communicated his ideas on the subject to his associates, perhaps when sipping at the wine around the Faneuil hearthstone.

The project met with favor there, but the opponents to a market-place were quick to start up in their full strength. They evidently thought they detected a wheel within the wheel claimed to be revolving for the good of the town.

But the quiet movement met with so great favor that a petition was sent to the selectmen bearing the names of three hundred and forty prominent people, among whom were Harrison Gray and others of equal standing. The petition set forth that Peter Faneuil, Esq., "hath been generously pleased to offer at his own cost and charge to erect and build a noble and complete structure or edifice to be improved for a market, for the sole use, benefit and advantage of the town, provided that the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use."

The warrant calling the town meeting was posted at the town house, and no similar document summoning the voters of the town of Boston created a greater excitement. There was a rallying of forces on both sides, and at all hours of the day might be seen groups of the voters reading and discussing the all-absorbing topic of a market house, a gift from Peter Faneuil. "Don't want it, won't have it," and kindred sentiments might have been heard from the poor itinerant pedler as he read and went his way with his produce slung over his back.

"Warrant for the Town Meeting

"SUFFOLK S.S.

"TO THE CONSTABLES OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON :

"Greeting — In the name of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay — You are hereby directed to notify and warn all the

WARRANT FOR THE TOWN MEETING 81

freholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, duly qualified as the law directs, to convene at the Town house on Monday the 14th day of July current at 9 o'clock in the morning, then and there to transact the following business—

Art I. — To choose a Moderator to Preside at s^d meeting. —

“Art. II. To consider the Petition of Sundry of the Inhabitants that the Town do give leave for the Erecting a Market House on Dock Square for the Town's use & Service at the Cost and Charge of Peter Faneuil Esqr. (who as is represented in s^d Petition has generously offered to erect the same) and that the By-Law, establishing a Market so far as it Respects Buying Provisions out of the Market, may be repealed, that so all Persons may be at Liberty at all times to Buy in any Part of the Town, and also to do what may be thought proper to be done thereon.”

“And you are directed to serve this Warrant by Posting an attested copy of the same at the Town House Eight days at least before the time of holding s^d Meeting. Hereof fail not —, and make due return of this Warrant with your doings thereon to the Clerk of s^d Town at or before the time of Holding s^d Meeting —

“Given under our hands this 4th day of July in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty.

“JOHN JEFFRIES

“DAVID COLLSON

“CALEB LYMAN

JON^{er} ARMITAGE

ALEXnd FORSYTH

THOMAS HUTCHINSON

“JONAS CLARK.”

“Good thing! hurrah for neighbor Peter!” were the words uttered by the aristocratic gentlemen as they read and passed down King Street, wagging their cocked hats and well-braided queues, and in a gesture of anticipated satisfaction they wrapped their scarlet broadcloth cloaks about their bodies, while at each proud step their silver shoe-buckles glistened in the sun.

All the voters were on hand on the morning of July 14, 1740. The town house was too small for the accommodation of the great company, who were anxious to exercise their right of franchise on that occasion.

They were obliged to adjourn to the Brattle Street Meeting House, being granted the privilege upon the agreement that "whatsoever damage may happen to be done to the pews or seats by means thereof, be repaired at the charge of the town." This need of room was a most convincing argument in favor of a larger hall, which may have prompted Peter Faneuil to add to his first suggestion; but up to this time he had made no proposition to give anything beyond a market.

The morning session was characterized by great intensity of feeling on the part of the voters, and resulted only in passing a vote of thanks to Mr. Faneuil, but after intermission the question was put to a vote after a heated discussion as to how the vote should be taken.

It was at length decided that it should be by words — yea or nay.

Illegal voting seems to be of no recent origin in this locality, for to prevent it on this important occasion a strenuous effort was made to have each voter place his name on the back of his written ballot, but this failed; yet a vigilant watch was kept over the ballot-box, as stuffing was generally predicted.

There were 727 ballots cast. The yeas had it by a majority of only seven votes. No doubt this generous offer from Peter Faneuil would have been refused had not the following conciliatory clause been added to the proposal upon which they were voting, "and we the said subscribers would humbly propose that, notwithstanding the said building should be encouraged and come to effect, yet that the market people should be at liberty to carry their marketing wheresoever they please about the town to dispose of it."

Mr. Faneuil was prepared for this strong opposition and was

not discouraged by the close contest at the polls. Threats of reconsiderations and kindred movements were made. These are yet known where local government still continues the town meeting. But the committee entered upon their work with a determination that presaged success, and in the selectmen's records under date of September 2, 1740, we read that those officials held a meeting. There were present Hon. John Jeffries, Caleb Lyman, Mr. Clark, Thomas Hutchinson, and Mr. Cook. At this sitting a plan was presented by Joshua Blanchard in behalf of Peter Faneuil "for a house for a market to be built in Dock Square (agreeable to his proposal to the town at their meeting on Monday, the 14th of July, last, and their votes thereon), desiring the selectmen would lay out the ground in order to begin the foundation."

"The selectmen accordingly met, went on the place in order to view the same, marked and staked out a piece of ground for that use, measuring in length from the lower westerly end, pointing the warehouse, in Merchants row, 100 feet, and in breadth 40 feet, which leaves a passage way of 30 feet wide between the town's shops and the market house to be built."

The site included that on which the Centre Market had stood before the mob made way with it, and it was the town's land. Up to this time there had been no thought of a hall on the part of the public, but it soon began to be rumored that Peter Faneuil was disposed to do more for the town than he had proposed, and when the architect, John Smibert, presented the plan, it called for a room over that planned for the market. About two years were required for the work. As the people watched the brick walls rise from their solid foundations, speculation was rife, evil motives were imagined, and many denounced the act of building such a structure on the town's land; but as the house neared completion, the sentiment changed, so that there was a greater unanimity, or silence on the part of the opponents.

In August, 1742, the selectmen were informed by Peter Faneuil that the market was now finished ("except some small trifles which should be done"). He wished them to take the necessary steps for having it opened and improved under such regulations as they should think wise to adopt.

These officials were inclined to show deference to the donor, who said that he left the whole affair to the selectmen, but if they inclined to see him on the affair, he ("being now very busy") would in a few days let them know when he was at leisure.

At a meeting of the selectmen held on September 10, 1742, Mr. Samuel Ruggles, who had been employed by Mr. Faneuil in building the house, represented the donor, and delivered the keys in Faneuil's name.

Three days later a meeting of the voters was held at the town house, to see if the building should be accepted. There had been a decided change in the feelings of the people, and they unanimously voted "to accept this most generous and noble benefaction for the use and intention they are designed for." They also appointed a committee "to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., and in the name of the town to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing."

The most wealthy and honored citizens were selected for this committee. It consisted of the moderator, Hon. Thomas Cushing; the selectmen, Hon. Adams Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis, Samuel Waldo, Thomas Hutchinson, Hon. Jacob Wendall, James Bowdoin, Andrew Oliver, Captain Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon, and Charles Apthorp; the representatives to the General Court and six other gentlemen.

The question of naming the public building was approached with some trepidation. It was a custom of the time for leading

men, or the owners of important buildings, to have their initials put on a corner-stone or in some equally prominent place. When the town house was erected in 1712, Samuel Sewall had his initials, "S. S.," cut in the stone at the southeast corner, and the same are seen on the northwest corner of the Old South Meeting House.

"J. B.," seen on the northeast corner of the same building, has recently been decided to be in memory of Joshua Blanchard, the mason. In the ironwork of the balcony of the old Province House, built by Peter Sargeant, appeared "16, P. S., 79."

But not a hint do we have of anything of the kind in honor of the greatest benefactor of Boston at that time. The name given to the building seems to have come from a source entirely outside of the mind of the donor. Many a person has offered to erect structures for the public good on condition that they be allowed the privilege of giving them a name. There is not a hint or suggestion of any such request on the part of Peter Faneuil.

But the records show that it was further voted, on motion of Thomas Hutchinson, later royal governor, "that in testimony of the town's gratitude to the said Peter Faneuil Esq., and to perpetuate his memory, the hall over the market place be named Faneuil hall, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that name."

This motion prevailed, and resolutions embodying the facts of the gift and its acceptance were passed and a copy of them sent to Peter Faneuil, and were also placed upon the town records.

In response to this courtesy Mr. Faneuil said: "I hope what I have done will be for the service of the whole country." How like the inspired words of a prophet this utterance appears to-day!

As further evidence of the good feeling of the town at this time, it was voted "that Mr. Faneuil's picture be drawn at full

length, at the expense of the town, and placed in the hall," and the selectmen were charged with the commission, which was accordingly executed. The Faneuil coat of arms, so much prized by the merchant, was carved and gilded by Moses Deshon, and bought by the town for £40 old tenor and placed in the hall.

When the meeting of September 13 adjourned, it was to meet on the following Friday in Faneuil Hall. Agreeable to that adjournment the voters assembled on September 16, 1742, for the first time in that hall, which with many alterations and enlargements has become sacred to the cause of liberty. The town officials entered at once upon the use of the rooms in the hall prepared for them; books and papers were removed from the old and inadequate rooms to the more spacious and convenient apartment, and on October 13, 1742, the selectmen held their first business meeting under the new roof. They began immediately to provide the needful furnishings, and a vote is recorded of the selection of one of their number to purchase "two pairs of brass candlesticks with steel snuffers, and a poker for the town's use."

The house given by Peter Faneuil to the town of Boston was regarded as the greatest munificence the town had received. It was built of brick,¹ two stories high, and in comparison with other buildings in the vicinity of Dock Square presented a commanding appearance.

¹ It has been urged that the bricks used in the construction of Faneuil Hall were imported, but this does not seem reasonable when brick-making was an industry of Boston and vicinity at that time and had been for many years. A brick kiln was started in Salem in 1629. Medford and Danvers were early engaged in the industry, and Boston had its brick kilns. The towns annually chose an officer called "sealer of molds for bricks." The General Court, long before the building of Faneuil Hall, passed an act prohibiting the erection of buildings above a limited size of other material than brick or stone. This we cannot believe would have been done if the people were thereby to be forced to import building material. It should also be remembered that bricks used in the walls of the fortress of Louisburg were from this vicinity. The original contract for them has lately come to notice in a file of papers at the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society at Boston.

John Smibert, the celebrated Scotch artist, was the architect. He came to Boston with Bishop Bulkley about 1730, and married Mary Williams, and was an intimate friend of the Faneuil family. A question often asked is who built those brick walls that withstood the earthquake's shock when the grasshopper left his lofty perch and came tumbling to the ground; those walls that stood firm and erect on their foundation when the angry flames roared and crackled about them.

In the absence of direct evidence we must take that which is circumstantial, but convincing. The man who appeared before the committee to lay out the ground, as a representative of Peter Faneuil, was Joshua Blanchard, a well-established brick mason of the time and a co-worker with Mr. Faneuil. According to his own journal he built the brick walls of the Old South Meeting House in 1729, and Boston town records show him to have been frequently in public service in his line of business, and we may well conclude that those brick walls are a monument to the memory of one of Boston's early citizens — Joshua Blanchard. They are more enduring than the tombstone in a corner of Granary Burying Ground, on which may still be read, "Tomb No. 73. Joshua Blanchard, a Mason." Samuel Ruggles is recognized as the carpenter who had charge of the woodwork.

Although the market was Mr. Faneuil's first and chief consideration, and the hall an afterthought, it is the latter that has become the more famous; but they are one and inseparable as far as the memory of Boston's benefactor is concerned.

While the town officials were getting located in their apartments in the hall, the friends of market centralization were turning their attention to the new market-house, which they most gladly recognized as a timely benefaction, and they were not slow in exulting over the opponents to the scheme.

With what satisfaction the portly Peter must have taken a morning's orders from sister Mary Anne as he left his luxurious residence and paced down Tremont, through Queen

Street, over to the market, and having secured his provisions, sent the "straight negro lad" back with the best haunch of venison.

From an old journal of the time we have the following:—
"Faneuil Hall is arched on both sides, being two stories high, the upper part sashed,¹ which comprehends several of the public offices of Town; at the Southermost end is the Naval Office. The middle the surveyors and the Markets Office."

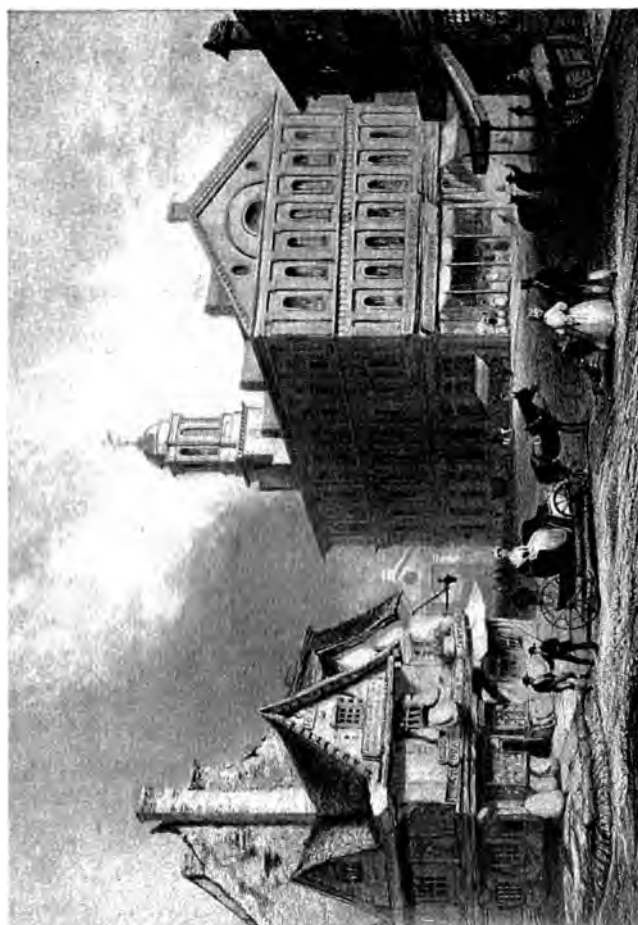
Among the buildings of importance in the vicinity of Faneuil Hall, at the time of its erection, was the town house, at the head of King Street, and below it, a range of famous taverns not unfamiliar to the proud step of the princely merchant. The Golden Fleece, Admiral Vernon, American Coffeehouse, and British Coffeehouse; Joseph Belknap's in Ann Street at the sign of the Buck and Breeches; also the Bunch of Grapes kept by William Coffin.

The Old Feather Store was also familiar to Peter Faneuil; and his warehouse on King Street near Merchants Row was a place of meeting for all in friendly relation with the generous leader of society.

But all, with the exception of the first noticed, the old State House, have passed away. Yet Faneuil Hall stands and will remain as long as the power of patriotic citizens can retain it. The force of sentiment is seen in its preservation; and many generations, yet unborn, will early learn to cherish this New England forum.

Much of the land in the vicinity of Faneuil Hall did not exist when that famous merchant conducted business in King Street, and Peter Faneuil was wont to hear from his associates that before the Huguenots came to Boston, the tide-water came up into the town dock where the Central Market stood for a while, and where subsequently he erected Faneuil Hall.

¹ The glass used in the windows of Faneuil Hall was imported by Peter Faneuil in one of his own ships.



FANEUIL HALL AND THE OLD FEATHER STORE

CHAPTER X

Faneuil Hall a Timely Gift. Concerts in Faneuil Hall in 1747. 'Llection Day Feasts. Early Days of Faneuil Hall Market. First Lease of a Stall. Market becomes Unpopular. Early Stallkeepers. Faneuil Hall Market destroyed by Fire in 1761. Newspaper Reports. Rebuilt by Means of a Lottery. Onesiphorus Tileston Contractor to rebuild the House. Scenes previous to opening of Revolution.

"A place consecrated by the patriotic service of our chiefest statesmen, and endeared by recollections of talents and virtues, which have identified the name of this city with the earliest, the purest, and the most imperishable honors of our revolution."—MAYOR JOSIAH QUINCY'S Inaugural Address of 1827.

THAT Faneuil Hall was a timely gift is evident from the demands made by the people for the use of it for occasional meetings, in addition to the regular use to which it was immediately devoted. On October 10, 1744, Mr. William Sheaf and other gentlemen applied to the selectmen for the hall, in which to "hold a celebration with a concert of music in honor of the King's Coronation Day." The judges of the Superior Court were granted its use, for the purpose of holding the trial of certain notable prisoners.

In May, 1747, Thomas Hancock applied in the name of the governor for the use of the hall, one evening in each week, for a concert of music. His request was granted by the selectmen, and we may well imagine that a more brilliantly attired company of people never assembled in Faneuil Hall than those who attended the series of concerts provided through the munificence of that noble man of provincial days.

The king's governor, with the council, dined in the hall on the first "Election Day," thus beginning the long list of notable feasts spread in Faneuil Hall.

The opening of Faneuil Hall Market did not by any means put a stop to itinerant marketing. There were many who, convinced against their will, were of the same opinion still, and, encouraged by that clause of the adopted resolution which granted the privilege of house-to-house marketing, they went where they pleased, to trade with renewed confidence. Provisions were brought in carts and on the backs of horses to the doors of the residences, and the opinion was strongly held that the tendency of a local market was to encourage forestalling and raise the price of provisions.

But while this element was active in the town, the friends of the market were experimenting and doing their best to overcome their opponents and promote the interest of Faneuil Hall Market.

Mr. Thomas Jackson, the clerk selected by Peter Faneuil and approved by the town, early brought forward Joseph Gray as one whom he could recommend to sweep the market house. He was employed in that position for the sum of £10 for the remainder of the year.

The first record of letting a stall was in December, 1742, when Anthony Hodgson was granted liberty for one month to use a stall, No. 8, to sell butter, cheese, and flour three days in a week, on condition that he would sell to the inhabitants as reasonably as they could buy at wholesale. For this privilege Hodgson agreed to pay 20 shillings — "old tenor" — per month.

This pioneer of the Faneuil Hall stallkeepers made a specialty of "Irish butter," which he imported direct from the Emerald Isle, in opposition to that of domestic manufacture, brought in by the countrymen, fresh from the dairy, and sold from their saddle-bags at the door direct to the consumers. Cheshire

cheese was also urged as preferable to that of the home manufacture, but all this tended to increase rather than lessen the opposition to the market.

It was difficult to bring buyer and seller to submission to judicious rule, and the clerk was soon clothed with full power and authority in his charge.

"To see that the rules are obeyed" was his order from the selectmen, who had very early learned that there were good citizens who had an inclination to trifle with authority.

It was ordered that every day should be a market-day except Sunday and the days when religious services were to be held. The market opened at sunrise, when the bell was rung, and for a time was kept open until one o'clock.

Human nature in "the good old days" of provincial Boston was not altogether perfect, and the town was forced to pass a vote that "No unwholesome stail or Blown meat or Leparous swine shall be sold or exposed to sale in the market under penalty of ten shillings."

Good weight and measure were enjoined, and in order to be sure of it, no steelyards could be used. It was ordered that "Everything must be kept clean and the doors and windows be shut at sunset." In all these matters the clerk was to be the judge.

In order to conciliate the opponents to the market, the selectmen early put upon record: "The principal interest of said market is to encourage and accommodate the country people, who bring provisions into the town for the more plentiful supply of the inhabitants, at the first hand for the same. No butchers or others who buy within this town, to sell again, shall bring into the market-house or expose for sale any goods there."

The crude ideas of a market of that time may be inferred from a vote of 1745. "All small meat, before brought in, must have the feet cut off, and quartered and cleaned from brains."

John Staniford, the clerk, asked for a fire-room in the market,

knowing that the town officials had one in the hall above, where they were allowed a grate and a poker, but this was denied the market official.

It was on November 16, 1743, that a second man, Isaac Winchester, ventured to take a stall, subject to the restrictions, and thereby run counter to the wishes of his neighbors and many of his best friends. His stall was numbered 22, and he was to pay 20 shillings a month.



SAMUEL ADAMS

Even this rental seemed exorbitant to those who were in the habit of marketing how, when, and where they pleased, and Winchester was severely denounced. Whether some provincial boycott was put in force the records fail to explain, but it appears that Winchester was soon superseded by Caleb Dana.

The beef dealers were soon in trouble, and in August, 1745, when Samuel Adams was one of the board of selectmen, it

was voted that no person be allowed to use a stall to sell beef till further orders of the selectmen. Up to this time, when the stern and inflexible Samuel Adams put his hand to the reins, there had been but little system for granting privileges within the market; but at length, as he saw the necessity of introducing uniform rules, he bent his energies in that direction and a form of lease was adopted, which may well be recognized as the Samuel Adams lease. Each man, before he set up his block and bench, was compelled to sign the lease as it was prepared.

SAMUEL ADAMS LEASE: THE FIRST SIGNED BY A STALLKEEPER

Boston October 2nd 1745.

This writing witnesseth that I the Subscriber have hired of Samuel Adams & Jonas Clark Esq^r: Thomas Hancock, Middlock Cooke, John Steele, William Salter & Henry Atkins Gent^l— Selectmen of the Town of Boston Two Stalls in Faneuil Hall Market being N^o.

for the Term of One year from the date hereof, and have and do hereby agree to pay as rent for the same to Joseph Wadsworth Esq^r Treasurer of said Town or his Successors in that office to and for the use of said Town the Sum of Ten Shillings in bills of the last Tenor for Each & Every month during said Term, as the same shall become due, and that I will not Lett or Lease said Stalls to any other person during said Term without the Consent of the Selectmen or their Successors, hereby obliging my Self to Conform to such Rules & Orders as they shall make relating to said Stalls during that time at the Expiration whereof I promise peaceably to deliver up the same. Witness my hand the day and year ab^{ve} written.

*Eben Gore**Witness.**Ezek Goldthwaite.*

Stalls were leased under the above form to Edward Dow, Jonathan Fessenden, Samuel Phipps, Caleb Dana, Nath^l Whiting, Moses Davis, William Waitt, James Jarvis. Even the efforts of these marketmen failed to establish the reputation of the enterprise, and the verdict of the public was to close Faneuil Hall Market in September, 1747. The next spring it was opened again, when a vote was passed to adopt a set of regulations in the way of experiment. The selectmen were to agree with town butchers for one year to purchase cattle for the supply of the market, the cattle to be slaughtered and the beef

disposed of at a certain per cent for doing the business, the butchers being really agents.

The tanners in the town were to have the preference in purchasing the hides at reasonable prices, and they, in turn, to sell the leather on similar conditions.

Faneuil Hall Market, under the new deal, was to be open only three days in a week, but later it was decided to keep it open six days.

It was a transition period. Another change in the lease was made, but the market controversy ran so high, rules adopted were so exacting, and the duties of the clerk so onerous that the subject became very troublesome. Here society came to a decided split. It was market and anti-market in every department of public affairs.

The feeling was so intense that in a town meeting, when the subject was under discussion, an influential citizen charged the selectmen with being in sympathy with the mob that had torn down the old Dock Square Market, implying that these officials would like to aid in another similarly disgraceful act.

Every department of the society of the town was touched by the market controversy, and new fuel was subsequently added to the flame; and in the year 1752 there was a most heated contest in town meeting, which resulted in closing the market. However, in the following year it was shown most conclusively that under wise management the market could become a source of revenue to the town, and the doors were again opened and the stalls leased; new officials were appointed, new regulations adopted, and a more promising start was made. The form of lease was made more comprehensive by adding the clause, "hereby obliging myself to bring to markett the Hyde and skins of all such creatures as I shall kill while I hold said stalls, & that I will constantly keep said stalls clean, and at the shutting up of said market by the clerk thereof, carry out with me all such beef as shall be cutt up, that's less than a

quarter & also all other meat of what kind soever, and in all other things conform to such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made relating to said stalls & market, by said selectmen, during the aforesaid term, of one Year, & at the expiration thereof peaceably deliver up the same to them or their successors."

The first marketman to sign this lease was John Hammond, Jr., who had stalls No. 14 and 15.

Others who accepted the lease were as follows : —

1748	March 22	Abraham Cutting	No. 17 & 18 ($\frac{1}{2}$ of)
1748	March 22	Henry Coattery	No. 4 & 24
1748	March 22	Peter Row	No. 7 & 22
1748	March 22	James Jarvis	No. 8 & 21
1748	March 22	David Stanley	No. 10 & 29
1748	March 22	Elizha Hager	No.
1749	May 1	Moses Davis	No. 1 & 28
1749	March 22	Benjamin Bigelow	No. 18 & 19 ($\frac{1}{2}$ of)
— 1749	May 1	Daniel Dana	No. 26 & 25 ($\frac{1}{2}$ of)
1749	March 1	John Robinson	No. 27
1749	January 31	John Stoddard }	No. 14 & 15
1749	January 31	John Reed }	

Again the form of lease was not satisfactory, and the voters, with a conciliatory spirit, decided to raise a committee to frame rules and regulations for the better control of the market, "and for reducing the exorbitant price of Provisions." They reported that the increase of price which the market occasioned was because of "too long continuance of it." And they urged that the market should be shut at eleven instead of one o'clock. This, they thought, would benefit those "who usually buy at the market, and also those who depend on being supplied at their own houses." The sellers would the sooner take up with the price offered by the one, and sooner disperse to supply the other. They later make records thus, "as the shutting of the market-house would rather increase the nuisance of the people with their teams and horses on the outside of the house, and in effect continue the market there, it was found necessary to make it

penal for any one to buy out of the market hours in Dock Square." These suggestions, in substance, became a law of the town.

Before the people had time to test the new regulations, the town was visited by a destructive fire, which occurred on the evening of January 13, 1761. It broke out in a shop on Dock Square, and, according to the *News Letter* of the 15th, "it crossed the street to that stately edifice, Faneuil Hall Market, the whole of which was soon consumed, excepting the brick walls which are left standing." The paper adds, "The loss of Faneuil Hall Market must be great to this town as it was a noble building, esteemed one of the best pieces of workmanship here, and an ornament to the town." The people early began to realize the truth of the adage,

"Blessings brighten as they take their flight."

Town meetings were now to be held in any building that could be obtained. The doors of Rev. Dr. Cooper's meeting-house were opened for the annual March meeting, when it was voted not to repair or rebuild the hall. But steps were taken for improving the streets in that locality, and the town employed Mr. Dawes to "secure the brick walls from the weather, and do anything to preserve them." It was evident to all that the house must be rebuilt, but the question of providing the means for doing it staggered them. There was no Peter Faneuil to put his hands in his pocket in this emergency, and, in fact, the manner in which his gift had been treated was not such as to encourage a repetition of gifts to the public. It was at length decided to rebuild the house, covering it with a slated roof, putting in stone window frames, and using as little woodwork as possible about the ornaments. To raise the funds it was decided to petition the General Court for an act enabling them to secure the money by means of a lottery,¹ a method questionable in later

¹ In 1751, by an act of the province, a lottery was authorized for supplying the treasury with 26,700 milled dollars. The Hon. Samuel Watts was the chief manager

time, but resorted to in cases of emergency in provincial days. The enemies to the market seized upon this time as their opportunity and secured a vote "That in as much as it will be necessary in order effectually to Repair Faneuil Hall to Repair in some measure the lower part of said Building. It is the sense of the town, not with standing, that the lower part shall not be improved as a Markett till the further order and Determination of the town."

The contract for rebuilding the house on the original plan was let out to Onesiphorus Tileston and others, they agreeing to wait for their pay until the money could be raised by the lottery. But it is evident that they became tired of waiting and asked relief on account of the time their bills remained unpaid. Captain Tileston's bill was £1287 6s. 2d.; Thomas Dawes', £337 os. 7d.; Josiah Waters', £170 os. 7d.; Moses Pitcher's, £130 10s. 4d.; Timothy Thornton's, £32 14s. 8d. In September, 1765, a committee was chosen to attend to these unsettled accounts.

THE LOTTERY

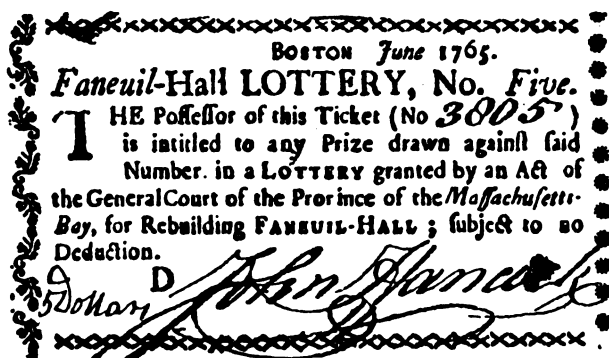
The voters of Boston directed their selectmen to petition the General Court for an act enabling them to conduct the lottery. They set forth in their preamble that "In the providence of God, Faneuil Hall having been consumed by fire, the inhabitants of said town labor under great inconvenience in want of a suitable place for transacting business of said town, and find it necessary to rebuild and repair the said hall not only to accommodate themselves, as soon as may be, but also that they may not lose the benefit of the walls Yet Standing."

Their petition, not being uncommon, was granted, and Samuel Sewall, Samuel Phillips Savage, and Ezekiel Lewis were empowered "to set up and carry on a lottery or lotteries, amount-

of it, and had his office in Faneuil Hall, where the lottery was drawn. Indians, negroes, and mulattoes were not allowed to buy tickets in the lotteries of Boston.

ing to such a sum, as, by drawing ten percent out of each prize, or out of the whole, may raise a sum of two thousand pounds, and no more or the major part of them, to the rebuilding the said Faneuil Hall and the market under the same."

The compensation allowed each manager was six shillings per day. The number of managers was increased after a time, and later the amount to be raised was increased by an enabling act of the General Court. The lottery tickets were issued in several classes, designated by the letters of the alphabet. Some of them bore the bold signature of John Hancock, a young man



then coming into political power in the town. The money came in slowly, and the subject was dragged along for several years. The advertisements of "Faneuil Hall Lottery Tickets" were seen in almost every issue of the newspapers¹ of the time. Some numbers of the *Boston Gazette* show full pages devoted

¹ The following newspapers were published in Boston at this time: *Boston News Letter*, begun in 1704, *The Boston Gazette*, in 1719, *The Boston Weekly Post Boy* in 1734, *The Boston Evening Post*, in 1735, and *The New England Weekly Journal*, in 1741. — NASON.

"At the time of the erection of Faneuil Hall, Boston contained 16,000 inhabitants, of whom 1514 were negroes. It had at one time during that year, forty topsail vessels on the stocks, and its commerce outrivalled that of any other town of the English colonies in America. Some six hundred ships had been freighted in a year for foreign ports and the town was rapidly advancing in wealth and refinement. It had ten churches, a handsome town house, and a province house." — NASON.

to a "Lottery drawing." On July 1, 1765, was published the following: "Those persons that are possessed of Benefit Tickets in the above Lottery, by applying to the respective managers who signed them, may receive their money." In August, 1768, appears the following: "The public are hereby notified that the managers of Faneuil Hall Lottery, letter N., have met with such encouragement in the sale of the Tickets that they have begun to roll the numbers and prepare the Boxes for drawing, which they design shall commence in a month from this time." Tickets lost and found were frequently mentioned in the paper, and the subject of the Lottery was kept before the people until the more vital questions of the Revolution engrossed the public mind.

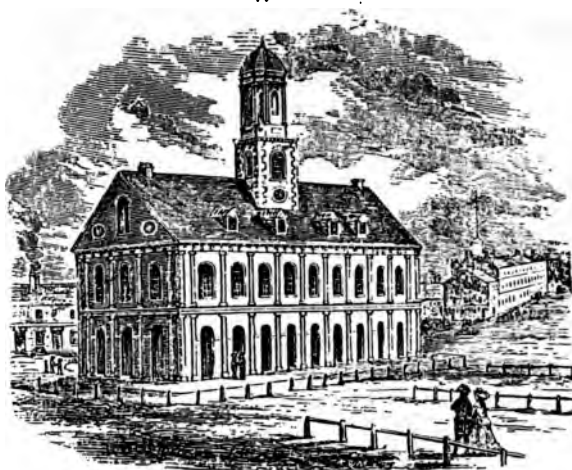
The work of rebuilding was so far completed that the town met in the hall on the 14th day of March, 1763, when James Otis, moderator of the meeting, delivered an appropriate address. A charity sermon was preached in the hall, a few days earlier, by Rev. Samuel Mather, the occasion being the distress of the poor of the town, who had met with great loss by fire.

The opposition to reopening the market was overruled, and a committee raised to put it in condition as before the fire, only that the doors should be hung on the outside. The selectmen were directed to use diligence in having the house ready so that butchers and others might bring in their provisions without interruption.

The picture of the Faneuil Hall Market as it appeared after this rebuilding is the earliest view of it extant. In it are seen the rail fences, which have but little significance until we read the action of the town of March, 1767:—

"Voted—That the selectmen be desired to shut up such parts of the Towns Land adjoining to Faneuil Hall Market as they shall Judge proper, and not suffer any Person to enter within the Rails for the sale of any kind of Provisions unless they pay such an acknowledgement to the Town as the Select-

men may think reasonable—Also that it be recommended to the Inhabitants of the Town not to purchase any Provision of such disorderly Persons as may presume to stand in Dock Square, or the streets round Faneuil Hall Market—and that the above vote be printed and dispersed among the Inhabitants on hand bills.”



FANEUIL HALL AND MARKET OF THE REVOLUTION

Thus the spirit of rivalry was continued between the itinerant and located marketing, until the province was engulfed in the Revolutionary struggle.

NOTE

Thomas Hancock, a contemporary with Peter Faneuil, but one who outlived him many years, intended to follow Faneuil's example and confer a lasting benefit upon Boston, and the whole province, by establishing an asylum for “such unhappy Persons as it shall please God in his Providence to deprive of their Reason.” But not having put his beneficent purpose into action during his life, he failed of it altogether, and was denied the honor which is still accorded to Peter Faneuil. Although, in recognition of the bequest of “Six hundred Pounds, lawful Money,” for the purpose, the town voted that “the name of Hancock be Recorded and enrolled among those of Faneuil and the other worthy Benefactors of this City.”

CHAPTER XI

Death of Peter Faneuil. Public Honors paid to the Memory of Boston's First Great Benefactor. Return of the Banished Benjamin. Obituary from *News Letter*. Funeral Oration delivered by John Lovell in Faneuil Hall. Peter Faneuil's Estate. The Appraisal of the Largest Estate in Boston. Benjamin Faneuil the Administrator. The Accumulated Wealth quickly scattered.

THE market-house controversy did not disturb Peter Faneuil, for before the time had passed for extending congratulations to him for his benevolent act, by those who enjoyed the hall, and before the market had become what he desired it to be, the report of the death of the honored man was passed from lip to lip. It occurred on March 3, 1743.

The sudden removal of a man of so great prominence soon after his persistent and successful effort to confer a blessing upon the town could not fail of calling a halt to all branches of business activity, and of bending all energies to the one purpose of honoring the memory of the deceased. The town officials took measures to have suitable recognition of the event. They voted "that a hatchment with the arms of Peter Faneuil Esq. be placed at the west end of Faneuil Hall at the towns expence, and that the bell on the said house be tolled from one o'clock until the funeral is over." His body was interred in the family tomb in Granary Burying Ground by the side of his uncle, whom he had outlived only about five years.¹ Let those

¹ The following notes are credited to the History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, compiled by Oliver Ayer Roberts.

"Journal of Benjamin Walker," Thursday 3, (March 1743) Peter Faneuil Esq^r, between 2 & 3 o'clock in ye afternoon dyed of a dropsical complyca(tion), he was

who claim to have a range of vision beyond this sphere, tell us what Uncle Andrew said when told by Peter that his summons had come so suddenly that he had made no preparations for the control of the estate. In the absence of "a last will and testament," there was but one thing to be done, send for Benjamin. To be sure, Mary Anne Faneuil, a sister, was in the home, and there were other sisters in Boston, but the right of instituting proceedings naturally went to the brother, who was only two years younger than Peter. It was Benjamin's opportunity, and we find him duly appointed administrator of the great estate. No doubt, Benjamin Faneuil, who had lived on friendly relations with his brother Peter, when returning to the family mansion, thought of that morning when he had gone out from it but a few years before. We have had occasional glimpses of him, during these years, when he has been identified with the interests of the town, or has gone on business ventures abroad, and as he has spent his most happy hours in the society and holy relationship of the wife of his youth, and with their three children.

The circumstances were favorable to the opposite of brotherly love between Peter and Benjamin Faneuil, but how can we doubt that these friendly relations did exist when we consider the evidence offered by the "Old Sexton," who has preserved the following letter from Peter to his brother, addressed by the cant name of Cockey.

a fat, squat, lame (man), hip short, went with high heeled shoe (In my opinion a great loss too This Town, aged 42, 8m.) & I think by what I have heard has done more charitable deeds than any man yt, ever liv'd in this Town & for whom I am very sorry. "March 10, Peter Faneuil Esqr. buried. Bearers Messrs. Tom. Lechmere; Josh. Winslow; Jno. Wheelwright, and Oliver; Jno. Gooch; Jno. Wendall, went round ye Town house, (Faneuil Hall?)"

From William Nadir's Almanac, under date of March 10, 1743. "Thursday 10, buried Peter Faneuil, Esqr. in 43^d year of age, a fatt, corpulent, brown, squat man, hip short, lame from childhood, a very large funeral went round ye Town house; gave us gloves at ye funeral, but sent ye gloves on ye 11 day, his Coffin cover(ed) with black velvet, & plated with yellow plates."

"Boston, the 18 August, 1741.

"DEAR COCKEY: The Occasion of my Sending my Chaise for you was on account of Mr. Shirley's receiving of his Majisties Commission Last Thursday appointing him Govr. of this Province wh. was read the next day, upon which occasion he ask't me the Loane of my Charrot wh. I granted him till Last Night, so that I presume will plede my excuse. I now send you up the Chase, to bring you home, and have deliver'd ye Coachman some Boiled Beef, a dozen of brown biskett 6 bottles of Madera and 2 of Frontinan with a dozen of Lemmons. Your relations and friends are all well, and desire their Love and service may be made acceptable to you, pray my Compliments to the Gentm and Ladys with you — and give me Leave to assure you that I am, Dear Cockey,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"PETER FANEUIL."

The *News Letter* contained the following obituary notice: —

"On Thursday last, dyed at his seat in this Town, Peter Faneuil Esq., whose remains, we hear, are to be interred this afternoon; a gentleman possessed of very ample fortune, and a most generous spirit, whose noble benefaction to this town, and constant employment of a great number of tradesmen, artificers and labourers, to whom he was a liberal paymaster; whose hospitality to all, and secret unbounded charity to the poor, — made his life a public blessing, and his death a general loss to, and universally regretted by, the inhabitants; who had been so sensible of their obligations to him, for the sumptuous edifice, which he raised at his private expence, for their Market house, and Town Hall, that, at a general town meeting, as a testimony of their gratitude, they voted, that the place of their future consultations should be called by his name, forever; in doing which they perpetuated their own honor as much as his memory; for, by this record posterity will know the most public spirited

man, in all regards, that ever yet appeared on the Northern continent of America, was a member of their community."

Peter Faneuil's gift, when viewed from our present standpoint, may seem small, but when considered, as it should be, from the standard of society of that early date, appears, as it really was, without precedent in the province. Munificence at that time was almost unknown.

The truth of another's words, "that which I gave away, I saved," seems apparent, for it was that which Peter Faneuil gave to the public that secured to him a memorial which has saved his name from oblivion. That which he saved has failed to do it.

In addition to the demonstration on the part of the town, at the time of the funeral ceremony, steps were early taken for a public memorial service. This was held in Faneuil Hall, and was the first of the notable series of meetings in memory of honored dead, held in that house. The eulogy was delivered by John Lovell, master of the Latin School, and being satisfactory, the town caused it to be placed upon their records. Some of the utterances, when viewed in the light of subsequent events, have a contradictory shading, for Master Lovell was among those who displayed their patriotism by adhering to the Crown and turning against the people of the provinces.

Printed copies of the oration were distributed, the title being "A funeral oration delivered at the opening of the annual meeting of the town, March 14, 1742. In Faneuil Hall, in Boston, occasioned by the death of the founder, Peter Faneuil Esqr. By John Lovell A.M., Master of the South Grammar school in Boston. Printed by Green, Bushnell & Allen for S. Kneeland & T. Green, in Queen street, 1743.

"I stand in this place, my fellow townsmen, and my worthy patrons, at the call of those to whom you have committed the direction of your publick affairs, to condole with you for the loss of your late generous benefactor, the founder of this

house. Certain I am there are numbers in this great assembly, who could upon this occasion have done more justice to his memory, and have better discharged the office that is enjoined me. But the commands of those (for such I must always esteem their desires) who have devolved this charge upon me, and the veneration I have for the virtues of the deceased, oblige me to bear what little part I can, in a grateful acknowledgement of the just regard due to the memory of a man, whose name, I am sure, will never be forgotten among us.

"How soon, alas! is our joy for having found such a benefactor, changed into mourning for the loss of him! But a few months are passed since we were framing votes, and consulting the best measures to express our gratitude for his unexampled favors; and the first annual meeting within these walls that were raised by his bounty, finds us assembled in the deepest sorrow for his decease.



JOHN LOVELL

"Instances of mortality are never more affecting than in those whose lives have been public blessings. Surely then every breast must feel a more than common distress, for the loss of one, whose largeness of heart equaled, great as it was, his power to do good. Honest industry must mourn, for which the exercise of his bounty found an almost constant employment; and they that know how to pity the calamities of human nature themselves, will mourn for him that always relieved them.

"So soon as he arrived to the possession of his large and plentiful estate; instead of fruitlessly hoarding up his treas-

ures, though no man managed his affairs with greater prudence and industry; instead of wasteing them in luxury, though plenty always crowned his board, instead of neglecting the wants of his fellow creatures, an unhappy circumstance too often attending the possession of riches, he made it manifest that he understood the true improvement of wealth, and was determined to pursue it. It was to him the highest enjoyment of riches, to relieve the wants of the needy, from which he was himself exempted, to see mankind rejoicing in the fruits of his bounty, and to feel that divine satisfaction which results from communicating happiness to others. His acts of charity were so secret and unbounded, that none but they who were the objects of it, can compute the sums which he annually distributed among them. His alms flowed like a fruitful river, that diffuses its streams through a whole country. He fed the hungry, and he cloathed the naked, he comforted the fatherless, and the widows in their affliction, and his bounties visited the prisoner. So that Almighty God in giving riches to this man, seems to have scattered blessings all abroad among the people.

“But these private charities were not the only effects of his public spirit, which, not contented with distributing his benefactions to private families, extended them to the whole community. Let this stately edifice which bears his name witness for him, what sum he expended in public munificence. This building, erected by him at an immense charge, for the convenience and ornament of the town, is comparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our western shore. Yet this effect of his bounty, however great, is but the first fruits of his generosity, a pledge of what his heart, always devising liberal things, would have done for us, had his life been spared. It is an unspeakable loss to the town, that he was taken away in the midst of his days, and in so sudden a manner, as to prevent his making provision for what his generous heart

might design. For I am well assured, from those who were acquainted with his purposes, that he had many more blessings in store for us, had heaven prolonged his days. But he is gone! the town's benefactor, the comforter of the distressed, and the poor man's friend. He is gone! And all his plans of future bounties with him, they are buried in the grave together. He shall be raised to life again! and his intended charities, though they are lost to us, will not be lost to him. Designs of Goodness and mercy, prevented as these were, will meet with the reward of actions.

"He is gone!—And must such men die! die in the midst of their days! Must the protectors and fathers of the distressed be taken away, while their oppressors are continued, and increase in power!—Great God! How unsearchable thy ways!—We confess our sins, but just and righteous art thou.

"To express your gratitude to your generous benefactor, you have passed the most honorable resolves, and to preserve his memory, you have called this house by his name. But in vain, alas! would you perpetuate his memory by such frail materials! These walls, the present monuments of his fame, shall moulder into dust. These foundations, however deeply laid, shall be forgotten. But his deeds, his charities, shall survive the ruin of nature. And to have relieved the miseries of the distressed, to have stilled the cries of orphans, and to have dried the widow's tears, are acts that shall embalm his memory for many generations on earth, and shall follow him beyond the limits of mortality, into those blissful regions where endless charity dwells.

"What now remains, but my ardent wishes (in which, I know you will concur with me) that this Hall may ever be sacred to the interests of Truth, of Justice, of Loyalty, of Honor, of Liberty. May no private views nor party broils ever enter within these walls; but may the same public spirit that glowed in the breast of the generous Founder, influence all your debates, that society may reap the benefit of them.

"May Liberty always spread its joyful wings over this place. Liberty that opens men's hearts to beneficence, and gives the relish to those who enjoy the effects of it. And may Loyalty to a King, under whom we enjoy this liberty, ever remain our character. A character always justly due to this land, and of which our enemies have in vain attempted to rob us.

"May those who are the inheriters of the large estate of our deceased benefactor, inherit, likewise the largeness of his soul. May the widow, the orphan, and the helpless, find in them a protector, a father, and a support. In a word, to sum up all, may Faneuil live in them.

"May charity, that most excellent of graces that beam from the breast of the Father of Mercies, which, so soon as ever it enters our bosom it begins our happiness: charity, the joy of men, of angels, of Almighty God; which completes the felicity of earth and heaven: May it warm the hearts of those who are like to our departed friend in their fortunes, to resemble him too in his bounties. May there be raised up some new benefactors in the room of him we have lost, who shall, if possible, rival Faneuil's spirit. And may there always remain in this town, the same grateful sentiments, the same virtuous dispositions to remember their benefactors with honor."

The reading of Master Lovell's address, together with what we have previously learned of the financial affairs of the lamented man, prompts us to a desire to know something of the disposition of the "large and plentiful estate."

The estate comprises not only Peter Faneuil's accumulations, but the property left by his Uncle Andrew, minus the few legacies to other people, including the five vindictive shillings to Benjamin. What wonder that Benjamin Faneuil manifested satisfaction when he came to fully realize that he was custodian of the entire estate and the rightful heir of a good portion of it. The first duty of the administrator was to have an inventory made of the estate. The appraisers were William

Price, Joseph Dowse, and Peter Chardon; the sum total of their valuation was £44,451 15s. 7d., but this affords us no idea of the entire property left by Peter Faneuil, as he had large investments abroad, authority for the disposition of which was granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

A review of the itemized inventory affords us some intimations of the household furnishings of a gentleman of provincial Boston of 1742, together with some side-light glimpses into habits and customs of the time.

We are first shown into the best room, where are a "full set," consisting of "12 carved vincered chairs and a couch," valued at £105, and a "pier glass" at £100. With what pleasure the proud merchant has beheld his figure reflected in this mirror, which occupies a full side of the room; and then the "arms to ditto" convinces us that this was made for the Faneuil family, possibly for Andrew, when in his prime. "One chimney glass and arms" is set down at £35, being another "made to order" fixture which has been a handsome adornment for the chimney, so that the proud owner, while sitting before the open fire, could see himself as the "Jolly Bachelor." "1 marble table and one large Turkey carpet" added to the general appearance, while "1 compleat brass set—hearth dogs, tongs, shovel, bellows, etc.," remind us of the letter in Peter's record book, in which he ordered these articles from London. "1 copper tea table, cups, saucers, tea-pot-stand, bowl, and sugar dish," at £10, afford slight intimations that Miss Mary Anne Faneuil has introduced afternoon teas to the delight of her brother Peter. "3 alabaster bowls and stands" could not have come amiss in the serving. What a delight must have been that buffet that held "a parcel of china, delph and glasses of several sorts" to the value of £199. But few households of Boston were provided with glass in the days when the Faneuil family enjoyed the luxury. Who could refrain from pausing before "1 large ovall mahogany table" and suppress the visions of good things that have been

served on it to the delight of both uncle and nephew? and who could blame Benjamin if, in passing, he referred to that last meal of which he partook from that table, and manifested satisfaction as he made haste to count up "12 plain walnut frame leather bottom chairs"? The Faneuil mansion was one of the very few of the town whose rooms were ornamented with pictures, aside from family portraits, but here were the "prospect of Boston, 2 landskips on copper, and the temple of Solomon," occupying the same positions on the dining-room wall that they did when Andrew Faneuil said the word which expelled the would-be benedict.

The great centre hall was supplied with "1 large entry lantern," and a fire apparatus consisting of "12 baggs and buckets," the latter suggesting the primitive appliances for controlling fire in the town. "Alexander's battles" had a conspicuous place in the hall, and the whole were rated at £37. The family library does not indicate great literary taste, but as the clergy were expected to control the classics, we are surprised to find that Erasmus is there "in good letters and well bound," and that the appraisers valued it at £2 10s.; other books are valued at £50.

The sleeping apartments afford attractions and bespeak comfort. "1 green harrateen bed, bedstead, window curtains, cushions, mattress, 2 green silk quilts, and feather bed," all for £65, suggest the dignity of a green room in provincial Boston. "3 sconces with arms" afford intimation that the apartments were fitted with wall brackets made for the family, and in which the best wax candles were placed. "1 bureau, table, 1 pair brass-faced dogs, 1 fire shovel, tongs, bellows, and one Turkey worked carpet" make up the furniture of the first chamber and are valued at £107.

The "Jolly Bachelor's" chamber shows "1 silver-hilted sword, a pair of pistols and powder flask," all for £15. "1 case with six razors, 1 pair scissors, bone pen knife, strap, 2 bottles, looking

glass (tipped with silver), yellow mohair bed-counterpane, feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, false curtains, etc., with 6 chairs, a great chair, 2 stools, window curtains, cushions, all of the same," £245. The contents of another bedchamber foots up £287.

An order to London, soon after Uncle Andrew's death, is verified here with a listing of "6 Lignumvitæ chocolate cups, Lined with silver," £3. The numerous "copper potts, pans, and kettles" call to mind an early order to London for all these necessaries in the culinary department, to which we descend, where "Fowling piece, boxes of pipes, 1 engine and 1 cistern" are valued at £31. "1 Gold watch-chain & seal of Graham make, 5 negroes, 1 chariot, and 1 coach" are all strangely mixed in the inventory and increase the estate by £1255. These negroes are rated £150, £130, £120, £120, £100, respectively; which of these was the well-known "straight negro lad" for which Mr. Faneuil swapped codfish and alewives, we cannot tell, but unquestionably he had increased in value since coming to live with this man of "quality."

From the kitchen we follow these judges of property to the stables, and here see that the "Two wheel chaise" is rated at £50, while the "four wheel chaise" is set down at £150, "one tandem of English horses" is valued at £300, and another at £250; while "2 Albany horses" are rated at only £100; a "white horse," probably the mate to the one sent to Barbadoes, was booked at £15, "One Albany Horse (mate dead)," £90. The storehouse was next in order of visitation, where were booked "8 Bbls. flour and pork £30," "15 prs. cottons £120," "9 Loaves sugar £10."

The bachelor's strong box must next have received the attention of the officials; here they register "A parcel of Jewells £1490. 10," "1400 oz. Plate @ $\frac{5}{8}$ ster. £2122. 10," "a silver stand 32 oz. & a seal £43," "1 shaving Bason 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. £40. 16." We can but fancy the satisfaction with which the "Jolly Bachelor" made lather in that silver dish and spread it over his well-

rounded cheeks before applying one of those razors which his letter book shows him to have imported for his own use. "2 Silver Snuff Boxes, 7 Gold Rings & 1 pr. Christall Buttons in Gold" are very suggestive of the style which our proud burgher put on when he was at his best. At length comes "1 Iron chest," £18, which served for the family safe deposit. Had all of the silver plate been itemized, we should have had an array of table ware and vessels for domestic use that would have been burdensome to any housekeeper, each article bearing the Faneuil arms; but chief of interest was Peter's "large and heavy silver punch bowl" that he ordered especially for his own use. "If it could speak out in good French or English," says the Old Sexton, "what glorious tales it would tell of Peter, in all his glory, enjoying," as Master Lovell says, "that divine satisfaction, which results from communicating happiness to others." Let no one think it was for show, but see what hospitality there was in that flowing bowl, by the inventory of "10 Pipes of Maderia Wine, £900; 2 Pipes Wine (one very ordinary) £240, 7 hhds. Claret, ordinary £150." But we must allow that much of this was for the trade, after being sufficiently sampled to be recommended with confidence. We have been assured that his hospitality was abundant, and we doubt it not. On June 22, 1741, a few months before his death, Peter writes Lane & Smithurst, to send him, "Six gross of the very best London King Henry's Cards, and six half chests of lemons, for my house winter supply." The listers find a good stock of livery supplies, viz., "28 yds. cloth, 5 Gold Lace hatts, 70 yds. shalloon, 3 yds. kersey with other trimmings," £111. "195 dzen of wine, arrack, beer, Cheshire & Gloucester cheeses," £542. 10. In fact, Peter's establishment appears to have been a very repository of all manner of elegancies, luxuries, and creature comforts. The mansion house with garden and outbuildings was valued at £12,375. "A double warehouse and a single Ditto on Long wharf and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the privilege of said wharf £1600." The

stock in the warehouse was varied and large. Eight tenements in Cornhill and King Street, a number of vessels, and parts of vessels were also on the list.

$\frac{1}{2}$ of the Briggt. called the Rochelle	£ 1300
Brigg Flower de Luce	1100
Sloop Swan	1000
$\frac{1}{2}$ of Sloop Hannah at Nantucket	400
$\frac{1}{2}$ of Bilander Young Eagle	250
Store at Canso	400

Pew No. 40 in Trinity Church 70," and to all this was added, " $\frac{1}{8}$ part of Paper Mill at Milton £100."

The items, or particular heads of inventory, number one hundred and fifty-eight, the whole making quite a volume of foolscap, nicely tied up, with a bit of ribbon from Miss Mary Anne's ample supply.

The Faneuil estate, like many another which has been thoughtfully gathered, was soon scattered. The mansion with its garden and all that pertained to it became the property of the Phillips family. Lieutenant-governor William Phillips occupied the house for a time. It belonged to the Vassal family during the Revolution, and, like many another piece of real estate, was confiscated, and in December, 1783, it was sold by the Commonwealth to Isaiah Doane. The silver plate, with which the house abounded, to the great satisfaction of Andrew and Peter Faneuil, and doubtless to the pleasure of Miss Faneuil, seems to have been divided between Benjamin and his sisters, each of whom had manifest pride in the choice pieces and in the armorial bearings. The Old Sexton, when compiling his "Dealings with the Dead," claimed to have the memorandum of the share which went to Mrs. Gillam Phillips (Marie Faneuil), entitled, "An account of my proportion of plate belonging to the estate of Peter Faneuil, Esq. deceased." In this is "a coffee pot, and a large, handsome chamber pot." A part of Benjamin's share of the plate was enjoyed in his family

Peter Faneuil, in "Dealings with the Dead," but the visitor of to-day finds the following in addition : —

PETER FANEUIL

March 3, 1743.

JONES DAVENPORT

FETTE.

It is evident that the additional inscription was made in the nineteenth century, and leads to the conclusion that this Faneuil



FANEUIL TOMB

tomb is also the sepulchre of Peter's sister, Mary Anne Jones, and her family, and also Anne Faneuil, second wife of Rev. Addington Davenport, and possibly the clergyman himself. The Davenport family may also have obtained a right in this sepulchre through the marriage of Peter Faneuil's nephew, Benjamin Faneuil, with Jane, daughter of Addington Davenport by his first marriage. The name of Fette being inscribed on the tablet

leads to the conclusion that here is also the place of interment of that family, which was allied with the Faneuils.

Sargent says this tomb is believed to have been built by Andrew Faneuil as early as 1709, and he thinks it quite certain that the lady whom the Huguenot married in Holland and whose beauty is traditional was interred in this sepulchre. Here Andrew was buried by Peter, February 10, 1737, and Peter was buried by his brother Benjamin, March 10, 1742, Old Style, and here Benjamin himself was laid, after an interval of forty-two years. Of the absence of inscription, Sargent says :—

"Arms in those days, and still where a titled nobility exists, are deemed, for the popular eye, sufficient evidence of ownership, without a name. So thought Uncle Andrew, and he left the freestone tablet without any inscription." Sargent further says characteristically: "Some worthy old citizen — God bless him — who knew rather more of this matter than his neighbors, and was well aware that the arms would be but a dead letter to posterity, resolved to serve the public and remedy the defect. Up he goes into the Granary Ground in the very spirit of Old Mortality, and with all his orthography in his ear, inscribed 'P. Funcl' upon the tablet." Time is rapidly effacing the whole; even the later inscription shows the effects of ice or the greedy hand of the relic hunter.¹

The motion of Thomas Hutchinson that "the hall over the market-place be named Faneuil Hall" was but a trifling incident in a town meeting, but it proved to be the means of preserving the name to all time. Wherever the word "liberty" is spoken, there Faneuil Hall is known and the name honored. Although none of the family bears the surname at the present time, there is no name more frequently written and spoken in Boston to-day than that of Faneuil. Each business communication sent out from the stalls of the busy marketmen bears that name; and the reader can but wish to know something of the subsequent history of Benjamin Faneuil and his sisters who shared in that great estate left by their brother.

We may reasonably conclude that each of the five with their respective families enjoyed the pleasures of the society of provincial Boston, being prominent members of it, until the troubles with the mother country led to estrangement and per-

¹ An instance is known to the author, where a public-spirited citizen, fearing that a nameless grave might sometime be opened and the infection — smallpox — from which the man died be again started in the town, took it upon himself to set up a slate tablet on which he attempted to chisel the name; but finding his zeal far superior to his skill, only cut the initials P. D., which have been construed to mean Paid, thereby certifying that mortality has settled all obligations.

secution, resulting in the departure of many from the homes which they loved. Many of the refugees, during the frenzy of political excitement, were just as truly persecuted, for conscience' sake, as were the Huguenots in 1685.

Benjamin Faneuil, who went out from his uncle's home at his banishment a single man, came back at Peter's death accompanied by his wife and three children, Benjamin, Peter, and Mary. In all these years he appears to have been an active, progressive citizen of the province. As early as 1729 we find him identified with the first movement toward the manufacture of paper in New England. Benjamin Faneuil and Gillam Phillips, his brother-in-law, Daniel Henchman and Thomas Hancock, his son-in-law, with Henry Deering, constituted a company who secured from the General Court the sole privilege of making paper within this province for a period of ten years, on conditions that they should make within one year two hundred reams of good, merchantable brown paper and printing paper, and also continue to increase the quantity from year to year. Their mill went into operation in Milton, Mass. By the inventory of Peter Faneuil's estate it appears that he owned in 1742 a one-fifth share of this mill, which became the property of Benjamin. He was identified with the building of Trinity Church in 1734 at the corner of Hawley and Summer streets, and was one of the first officials of that society. Soon after his Uncle Andrew's death he went to England and France, keeping up a correspondence with his brother Peter while absent. After coming into possession of his share of the Faneuil estate, Benjamin purchased about seventy acres of land in Little Cambridge — Brighton. He built a dwelling, which was destroyed by fire through the treachery of a servant. He then built a very large and expensive dwelling, in which he lived with his family. The panels in the wainscoting of the parlor were his peculiar pride, being four feet and four inches in width, made from a single board. In the rear of this house is a pond surrounded by

a carefully laid curbing. This pond was for a family fish-pond, and for the particular gratification of Peter, the son of the owner. This estate descended to Mr. Faneuil's daughter Mary, who married, in 1754, George Bethune. In 1811 the property was owned by Thomas English and his wife Penelope, daughter of George Bethune. It was sold to Samuel Parkman for the use of his son John. Here Mr. Harvey D. Parker, who established the Parker House, served a time as coachman. Mr. Samuel Bigelow, in 1839, appeared as the successor of Parkman, and the estate is now known as Bigelow Hill. The name of Faneuil is perpetuated in Brighton by being attached to street and station and in various other ways.¹ Benjamin Faneuil lived until 1786, having attained the age of eighty-four years. His wife had died in 1777. He was blind for the last twenty years of his life, and took but little interest in the passing events.

From the Bethune Genealogy the following anecdote is obtained. When the British were in possession of Boston and Washington was in command at Cambridge, Benjamin Faneuil was an invalid in his home, and cared for by his daughter, Mrs. Bethune, then a widow. One afternoon General Washington and some of his officers were riding by this place, when their attention was attracted by some tempting cherries, which they sampled in passing. They were seen by Mrs. Bethune, who sent her man-servant, with her compliments to the general and his comrades, with an invitation to come in and eat of the fruit. They rode up to the door, dismounted, and went in. She received them graciously, giving them fruit, wine, and cake. She invited them to dine with her on a day which she then named, expressing at the same time her political sentiments as very patriotic, and directly opposing the position taken by some members of the family. Washington and companions accepted, and appeared there the day agreed upon. Mrs. Bethune invited

¹ The *Boston Gazette* of March 16, 1767, has the following: "A House to be sold in Little Cambridge near Benjamin Faneuil's Esqr."

others to meet her noted guests, and all went on in a most charming manner until, when the meal was nearly over, Mr. Faneuil appeared, on the arm of his attendant. Having learned of the dinner party, he could not be restrained, and hence his appearance was a surprise to his daughter. He was seated at the foot of the table, when he assured the guests that he was happy to have them visit the house and asked them to fill their glasses and allow him to drink their health. After finding where Washington and Lee sat, Mr. Faneuil turned to the former, and said, "General Washington, I respect your character greatly; you act from patriotic motives; I have not a word to object to your course." But turning short to where Lee sat, he said, "You, General Lee, are fighting with a rope around your neck," etc., showing very plainly that he regarded him as a traitor to king and country. When leaving the house, Washington called for an explanation, and was told by Mrs. Bethune that her father had been blind and practically out of the world for twenty years. Drake tells us that Benjamin Faneuil was buried from the mansion house of Thomas English in Boston.

Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., the oldest son of our veteran, was active in business in Boston, having a store in Butlers' Rowe in 1767, where he kept "Tea, Hemp, Russia and Raven's Duck, sheathing, nails, etc." He was a man of influence and served on many committees entrusted with public duties of importance.

Both Benjamin and Peter were in sympathy with the existing government, and were denounced as Tories. The former was one of the signers of the "Loyal Address" to Governor Gage on his departure October 6, 1775. He left Boston for Halifax at the time of the evacuation. The Old Sexton says Benjamin's wife was Jane, daughter of Addington Davenport by his first wife, Jane, who was a daughter of Grove Hirst, and sister of Lady Mary Pepperell. Benjamin Faneuil and wife lived for several years in England, chiefly in Bristol, where he died.

Peter, the younger child of Benjamin, left the country as a Tory, was for a time in the West Indies, but was never in good health, and finally returned to America and completed his life at the home of his sister at Brighton.

When it was found by the patriots that the Faneuils, nephews of Peter, had left the country with the British army, a company of people, moved by an ill-directed sentiment, went to Faneuil Hall and destroyed the painting of Peter Faneuil, placed there by the town in honor of the donor. These Faneuil brothers loved Boston and the provinces, but could not hastily give up allegiance to England, whose people had been so friendly to the Huguenots in their time of distress.

The sisters of Peter Faneuil with their families sympathized with the king. Marie, Mrs. Phillips, lived at Cambridge, a widow, for several years, and died there in April, 1778. Susannah, Mrs. Boutineau, went with her husband to England, where he died about 1784.

Anne, Mrs. Davenport, was a widow before the Revolution, and probably remained in this country.

Mary Anne, who married John Jones in the same month of the death of her brother Peter, resided in Roxbury. She was a refugee, and lived for some time at Windsor, N.S.

The correspondence of these refugees serves to throw light upon the condition of many of the people who cast in their lot with the king's army at the time of the evacuation. Benjamin Faneuil writes to his aunt, Mrs. Jones:—

March 9, 1777.

"I cannot say I am very sorry, for your disappointment, in missing your passage to England, for unless you could bring a barrel of guineas, you are much better anywhere than here. . . . As soon as the Christmas holidays were over we presented a petition to the Lords of the Treasury, setting forth our suffering, and praying for a support, till the affairs in America are

settled. This method was taken by the Council, and indeed by all refugees. Within these few days, the Lords of the Treasury have agreed to allow, for the present, Chief Justice Oliver £400 a year, Lieut. Governor Oliver, and Mr. Flucker £300, the Council, (Mr. Boutineau among the rest,) £200, the refugees in general £100, some only £50. Our affairs are not yet absolutely determined, on account of Lord North's sickness, but we are told we shall be tuckt in, between the Council and the refugees, and be allowed £150 a year. This is a very poor affair, and we can by no means live upon it; but there are such a confounded parcel of us, to be provided for, that I am told no more will be allowed. Should there be an opportunity of writing to Boston, I should take it kind, if cousin Betsey would write to my father and let him know what I now write, and give our loves to Mr. Bethunes' family, and my Aunt Phillips. I do not mention my poor mother, as, from the accounts I have received, I doubt whether she be living at this time. When we shall be able to return to Boston, I cannot say, but hope and believe it will not exceed one year more, for sooner or later, America will be conquered, and on that they may depend."¹

We here see the representatives of Peter Faneuil almost beggars in a strange land, longing to return to America, which they firmly believe must yield to the superior power of the mother country.

NOTE

"At the evacuation of Boston, 1100 Loyalists retired to Nova Scotia, of whom 102 were men in official station, 18 were clergymen, 213 were merchants and traders of Boston, 382 were farmers and mechanics, in great part from the country. There were no better men and women in Massachusetts as regards intelligence, substantial good purpose and piety. Their stake in the country was greater even than that of their opponents; their patriotism, no doubt, was fully as fervent."

—SABINE'S "American Loyalists."

¹ This record is largely drawn from "Dealings with the Dead" by a "Sexton of the Old School."

CHAPTER XIII

Faneuil Hall Town Meetings. Named Cradle of Liberty. First Intimation of the Revolution. Protest against Stamp Act. Festivities at the Repeal. Portraits of Friends in Parliament procured and hung in Hall. Gratitude for Preservation of Hall. Loss of Portraits during the Siege. List of Famous Meetings in Faneuil Hall. General Howe and Boston Negroes. Count D'Estaing and other French Officers. Boston Merchants entertain the French. Washington's Birthday celebrated in 1784. African Preacher in Faneuil Hall in 1789. Lafayette Dinner in 1784. Washington Banquet in 1789. John Adams honored in 1797. 'Lecture Day Dinner. School Visitors dined. The Grasshopper. Earthquake of 1755. Celebration of 1793.

"May Faneuil Hall ever stand, a monument to teach the world that resistance to oppression is a duty, and will under true republican institutions become a blessing." — LAFAYETTE.

IT was in the town meetings held in the first Faneuil Hall, in the presence of the "full length picture" of Peter Faneuil, that the many heated discussions in regard to the market were held. While the voters could not but appreciate the advantages of the spacious and well-equipped hall,¹ the time had not yet come for them to realize the full benefit of the donor's purpose in giving the market. All town business submitted to the voters was discussed in the hall, and it appears that in 1756 they were taking steps for an improvement in the general conduct of affairs in the town as well as in the special management of the marketing. An article in the warrant for the March meeting of that year was to see "whether any more effectual method than is always prescribed by law can be taken for promoting a more general reformation of manners." But

¹ The hall was illuminated in September, 1760, at a jubilee because of the reduction of Canada.

it remained for the second or rebuilt Faneuil Hall to become the scene of those meetings and events which have given Boston world-wide fame. We have seen that at the formal opening in 1763 James Otis was the speaker, and that he was soon followed by Rev. Samuel Mather in the interests of the poor and distressed, worthy names and subjects to head the memorable list. The voters again entered upon the enjoyment of the hall for their regular town meetings, but the discussion of local matters soon merged into those where liberty of speech was not restricted to voters, but where expression was freely given to the popular feeling which gave rise to the name *Cradle of Liberty*. The hall proved none too large for ordinary business meetings, and on special occasions was not nearly large enough. There were one thousand and eighty-nine voters who had part in the election of representatives to the General Court in May, 1763. In the following February we find that they passed a unanimous vote to Rev. George Whitefield "for his charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable sum of money in Great Britain for the distressed sufferers of the great fire in Boston in 1760." The Chief Justice secured the use of the hall in September, 1764, in which to hold court.

The smallpox was distressing the town, so much so that the General Court, in 1764, was held at Concord; the town representatives being Royal Tyler, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Esqrs. In the instructions given to these representatives appears the first intimation of the oncoming storm of the Revolution, of which record was made in Faneuil Hall. "You will use your endeavours to have a law passed whereby the seats of such gentlemen as shall accept of Posts of Profit from the Crown, or the Governor, while they are Members of the House shall be vacated agreeable to an act of the British Parliament until their associates may have an opportunity of reelecting them if they please." After setting forth the expenses of the province in the French War, they say:

"Our Trade has for a long time laboured under great Discouragements, and it is with the deepest concern that we see such further Difficulties coming upon us, as will reduce it to the lowest Ebb, if not totally obstruct and ruin it. . . . We therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavours in the General Assembly that such methods may be taken as will effectually prevent their proceedings against us. By a proper Representation we apprehend it may easily be made to appear that such measures will prove detrimental to Great Britain itself, upon which account we have reason to hope that an Application even for the repeal of the Act, should it be already passed, will be successful." When realizing that their hopes were not well founded, that the Stamp Act had been passed, and that some of the townspeople had vented the popular indignation by acts of violence, the voters made their way to Faneuil Hall, and with James Otis as their moderator, on August 27, 1765, they protested against "the extraordinary and violent proceedings of a number of Persons unknown, against some of the Inhabitants of the same, the last night." While the law-abiding people did not hesitate to denounce the Stamp Act in the interest of that liberty which they had the right to enjoy as subjects of Great Britain, they would not countenance lawless demonstrations.

On the 12th of September the voters were again in session in Faneuil Hall, and unanimously voted to instruct their Representatives "as to their conduct at this very alarming crisis." Thus they went on in that hall, step by step, with firm but well-advised protests and petitions, until we find them, the following spring, when the act was repealed, there assembled to sing the praises of their king. The hall and very many other public, as well as private, buildings were illuminated in recognition of the consideration thus shown them by Parliament. Here they passed resolutions of gratitude for the repeal, and in special recognition of the efforts on the part of Right Honorable Gen-

eral Conway, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and Colonel Isaac Barré, a member of Parliament, they requested portraits of these friends of the colonies to be placed in Faneuil Hall "as a Standing Monument to all Posterity, of the virtue and Justice of our Benefactors, and a lasting proof of our Gratitude." These were secured and added to the adornments of the hall. Another ornament was the picture of King George II., during whose reign the house was built. That of William Shirley, governor of the province when the house was built, and a particular friend of Peter Faneuil, was also given a conspicuous place in Faneuil Hall.

The *Boston Gazette* of March 18, 1767, has the following account of the celebration of the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act: "In the afternoon, by vote of the town, a profusion of wines and other liquors was prepared in Faneuil Hall, to collect the genuine sons of Liberty, to celebrate this happy festival. Accordingly a large company of the principal inhabitants, crowded that spacious apartment, and with loud huzzas, and repeated acclamations at each of the twenty-five toasts, saluted the glorious and memorable patrons of America, particularly those who distinguished themselves in the cause of Liberty while we were groaning under the iron hand of oppression. At the close of the day the company retired to different houses to conclude the festivity with collations provided at the private expense of some opulent gentlemen. Faneuil Hall was illuminated and several houses, but the Tree of Liberty chiefly attracted the notice of the town."

The men conducting town business at this time are Samuel Adams, John Hancock, John Ruddock, Samuel Sewall, Joshua Henshaw, Benjamin Kent, and others, whose names have become household words. They showed the principle which actuated them, when they refused the use of Faneuil Hall to his Excellency the governor and Council on the evening of Election Day, unless they could be assured that the commis-

sioners of customs or their attendants were not to be invited. They were all busy men, and their warehouses, shops, and offices were in close proximity to Faneuil Hall, and their voices and services were never withheld when duty called. The largest and boldest meeting of the period was held June 14, 1768, when James Otis was moderator, and a protest was formally made against the revenue laws, and a request forcibly made that the *Romney* be removed from the harbor.

There were stirring times in Dock Square when it became known that a large force of British troops had been ordered to Boston. A convention of representatives from nearly every town in the province was in session for a week, but Governor Bernard refused to recognize the convention, yet it went on in a perfectly orderly manner.

On September 30, 1768, seven warships came into the harbor with two full regiments of troops, the Fourteenth and Twenty-ninth, on board, and upon landing in the town the latter encamped on Boston Common. Even the presence of these troops was a great annoyance to the people; but when Colonel Dalrymple demanded Faneuil Hall as quarters for the Fourteenth Regiment, the selectmen refused to grant his demand; but their authority was overruled, and the spacious hall was turned into a barrack for the king's troops, and was used for that purpose until the third day of November.

For the next year town meetings were frequent and characterized by strong feeling; but good order and peace prevailed in the town until, in the winter and spring of 1770, the soldiery and the populace began to clash. On February 22 a disturbance resulted in wounding Samuel Gore, and killing Christopher Snider, a boy about eleven years of age. Two men, Richardson and Wilmot, were charged with the crime and publicly examined in Faneuil Hall before Justices Ruddock, Dana, Quincy, and Pemberton. Richardson was adjudged guilty and committed to jail, but was pardoned two years later by Governor Thomas

Hutchinson. On the evening of the fifth of March occurred the events known as the Boston Massacre. On the following day Faneuil Hall was the scene of a memorable meeting, "perhaps the most dramatic scene in all history." The formal warrant and seven days' notice were overruled. It was a mass-meeting. The news had spread so rapidly that the people had congregated and clamored for an opportunity to give formal expression to their feelings. The concourse was so great that the hall would not contain them, and they adjourned to Dr. Sewall's Meeting House—Old South. A committee was appointed to wait upon the governor and demand a withdrawal of the troops from the town. Samuel Adams was at the head of the committee, who succeeded in their demands.

The body of Attucks, one of the victims of the Massacre, was placed in Faneuil Hall awaiting the burial, which occurred three days after the event. When the hearse rolled away from Faneuil Hall over to King Street, and there met three more in which were the bodies of Maverick, Gray, and Caldwell, the dead were followed by "the largest company of people that were ever assembled for a similar purpose on this continent." The interment was in Granary Burying Ground. On the tenth instant the voters met in the hall, after their legal form, and took action "relative to the massacre in King Street."

It was on Friday, November 5th, 1773, that the first of a series of tea meetings was held in Faneuil Hall. John Hancock was moderator. The petition of a large number of the inhabitants was presented, setting forth "that they are justly alarmed at the report that the East India Company in London are about shipping a cargo or cargoes of Tea into this and the other colonies, and that they esteem it a political plan of the British Administration whereby they have reason to fear not only that the trade upon which they depend for a subsistence is threatened to be totally destroyed; but what is much more than anything in life to be dreaded, the Tribute laid upon the

importations of that Article will be fixed and established, and our liberties for which we have long struggled, will be lost to them and their posterity." Handbills, called "The Tradesmens Protest against the Proceedings of the Merchants relative to the new Importations of Tea," had been distributed, and caused intensity of feeling. The tradesmen present, to the number of about four hundred, were directed to collect at the south side of the hall, when they were asked if they would acknowledge the paper, and they unanimously denied it and declared it to be false, scandalous, and base. The meeting then adopted a series of resolutions already accepted by citizens of Philadelphia. Article sixth is, "Resolved that it is the Duty of every American to oppose this attempt." The seventh denounces every person who shall in any way attempt to aid the East India Company as an "enemy to America." The resolutions conclude by the appointment of a committee to wait on the gentlemen selected by the East India Company to receive and sell tea, and to "request them from a regard to their own characters and the peace and good order of this town and Province, immediately to resign their appointment."

Among those called upon for this purpose was Benjamin Faneuil, a nephew of Peter Faneuil. This meeting continued by adjournment from hour to hour and date to date until it was dissolved on the 11th instant. Another meeting was held on the 18th, when the consignees reported by letter, which was voted unsatisfactory, and the meeting was dissolved. The tea-ships arrived, and the people exerted themselves to prevent violent measures; but while they were holding a meeting on December 16, at Old South Meeting House (Faneuil Hall being too small), a company of citizens in disguise met at the wharf and threw the tea overboard.

During the tea troubles, Governor Thomas Hutchinson became very unpopular and was recalled, being succeeded by Thomas Gage, who, as captain-general and governor of

Massachusetts, landed at Long Wharf, being cordially welcomed and dined at Faneuil Hall, where an elegant feast, with loyal toasts, etc., was conducted. The kindly feelings, if they did really exist, were soon dismissed when it was fully realized that the new governor was here to enforce the Port Bill, which the town in Faneuil Hall had denounced only four days before the arrival of the governor. From this town meeting was issued a circular letter to "the several towns of this Province, and to the several colonies, acquainting them with the present state of our affairs." It was from previous and subsequent town meetings in Faneuil Hall that circulars were sent out which resulted in enlisting the sympathy and securing the coöperation of the entire people.

It was during the political excitement that Rev. John Murray, the first avowed preacher in New England of ultimate and universal salvation, arrived in Boston and preached in Faneuil Hall.

The Port Bill went into effect on June 1, 1774, and a melancholy period began. In August there was a meeting of delegates from Worcester, Essex, and Middlesex counties, and of the Committee of Correspondence of Suffolk County. During these months the citizens of Boston were frequently in session in the hall, devising ways and means for the relief of the distressed. On June 27, when correspondence with towns was to be considered, the hall was too small and the meeting adjourned to the Old South Meeting House.

When assembled in Faneuil Hall, the people made record of their gratitude to different towns for aid for the relief of the poor—a notable instance being that of Windham in Connecticut, which sent 258 sheep. .

On October 24, 1774, the anniversary of the king's birth, there was a grand concert in Faneuil Hall in honor of royalty.

The regular town meeting for the transaction of town affairs and a Port Bill meeting were kept alive by adjournment for several months, and the Court of Admiralty held session here

for the trial of pirates and robbers; and Faneuil Hall was the scene of much business of vital importance, until there came a change through the opening of hostilities on April 19, 1775. During the siege the hall was used as a storehouse for arms and furniture. It was a sorrowful day for the Bostonians when they went to Faneuil Hall to surrender their arms to officers appointed by General Gage. It was also used for a theatre for the entertainment of British officers and Loyalists who abandoned their homes and centred in Boston under protection of the king's army. The tragedy of "Zara" and the comedy of "The Busy Body" were frequently given, and a local farce, written by General Burgoyne, entitled the "Blockade of Boston" had one or more presentations.

When playing Burgoyne's farce, a person came forward to the footlights and with earnestness announced that "the Yankees are attacking Bunker Hill." The deluded audience thought this was a part of the play, and cheered the speaker, but when they saw that he meant to report a solemn reality the audience dispersed.

The annual town meeting of March 5, 1776, for the Massacre oration, was held at Watertown; but the British having evacuated the town on the 17th instant, the town meeting for the choice of officers and other business was held in the Old Brick Meeting House on the 29th. It was here, and not in Faneuil Hall, that the voters agreed, on May 23, "that if the Honble. Continental Congress should, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in their measure."

We must ever be grateful to General Howe that Faneuil Hall was left to us in respectable condition. Although he issued orders to his men that the first soldier detected plundering houses would be hanged upon the spot, the portraits already mentioned as hanging in Faneuil Hall were never seen in Bos-

ton after the evacuation. It has, however, been alleged that the portrait of Peter Faneuil was mutilated by those who were incensed because the nephews of Peter Faneuil left the country as Tories. A copy of a portrait of the generous donor of the hall was later obtained and given a place of honor, which it has occupied until the present time. Steel engravings of the Right Honorable Isaac Barré and Field Marshal Conway have since been procured and presented to the city, and are seen in one of the apartments of the hall.

General Howe summoned all the negroes of the town to meet at Faneuil Hall to organize a scavenger party, but Oscar Merriam, who had been instructed in the Whig doctrine, remonstrated against any such service, and was put in jail for his patriotic utterances.

It was nearly a year after the evacuation of Boston before the town held its meetings in Faneuil Hall, the Old Brick Meeting House being used for business gatherings. On April 2, 1777, a French teacher was granted the use of the hall in which to deliver an oration in French.

In August, 1778, Count D'Estaing, the French admiral, with about five hundred officers and other dignitaries, was feasted in Faneuil Hall at the expense of John Hancock, who had but recently returned to his home after his service as president of the Continental Congress.

In July the fluctuation of currency was so annoying to business men that there was a meeting in Faneuil Hall to regulate prices. The following were established:—

	£	s.
Windward Rum per gallon	6	6
New England Rum per gallon	4	16
Molasses per gallon	4	7
Coffee per pound	0	18
Brown Sugar	0	14
Bohea Tea	0	15
Salt per bbl.	0	9
Indian Corn per bushel	4	10



PETER FANEUIL

From the Painting by Sargent in Faneuil Hall

WASHINGTON BANQUET

133

Rye per bushel	6 0
Beef per lb.	0 6
Mutton per lb.	0 4
Butter per lb	0 12
Cheese per lb.	0 6
Milk per qt.	0 2
Hay per cwt.	2 0
Labor per day	5 0
Cost for 1 pr. leather breeches	1 15

The lottery was a thing of common occurrence at this time, and Faneuil Hall was granted in which to conduct the game of chance.

On June 2, 1779, Mr. Wendell had the use of the hall "for drawing State Lottery." On November 14, 1780, Deacon Newell was granted the hall for the "drawing in the Boston Pier Lottery."

On October 3, 1781, the merchants of Boston entertained the French officers with a banquet in Faneuil Hall, in recognition of the protection they had given to the trade of the Commonwealth.

In February, 1784, Washington's birthday, succeeding the Treaty of Peace, was observed by illuminating Faneuil Hall.

In July, 1786, Mr. Grant and Mr. Adams were made a committee to order the necessary repairs at the top of Faneuil Hall, and were authorized to purchase a suitable bell to be hung in the cupola; from this we infer that the income from the lottery had not been sufficient to supply the market bell, the one given with the house by Peter Faneuil having been rendered useless by the fire of 1761.

When George Washington, as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, entered Boston in March, 1776, after the evacuation, he expressed himself as grateful for the good condition of Faneuil Hall. And when he came in 1789, as the first President of the United States, he was banqueted in the same hall, when many noted guests and old soldiers again met him face to face, and exchanged cordial greetings.

The "'Lection Day" dinner, compliments of Governor Hancock, were occasions when nothing was withheld that could contribute to the enjoyment of the guests or public favor of the first governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"July 6 1764: Voted. That a Dinner be provided at Faneuil Hall for about 50 gentlemen, on the day for visiting schools, and that Mr. Bellard shall have the dressing thereof, and also furnish the Liquor that may be wanted." In the visitation of the next year there were added to the company who were dined at the town's expense in Faneuil Hall, "The fathers of the children who are in the highest forms, and will leave school this season." — *Town Records*.

The dinners served and toasts drunk in Faneuil Hall, already mentioned, were enough to make the house famous, but they were few in comparison with those less noted complimentary feasts spread for the school committee and their associates, who found in this gratuity sufficient compensation for their services, at least until the time came when they were to provide their own drinks.

In the year 1784 the merchants of Boston gave a dinner in Faneuil Hall in honor of Lafayette. At each toast thirteen cannon were discharged in Market Square by the train of artillery under the direction of Major Davis. A picture of Washington had been concealed by drapery, and when in the course of the banquet it was unveiled, the Marquis rose to his feet, clapped his hands, and manifested much tender emotion as he gazed on the features of his old commander. An ornament of the hall not before mentioned was the bust of President Washington, placed there about ten years before he completed his life work. The bust was a gift of Mr. Christian Gallager.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held some of its early meetings in Faneuil Hall from 1792 to 1794.

In 1792, when the smallpox became prevalent in Boston, and threatened to depopulate the town as it had in early time, a

meeting was called in Faneuil Hall to take measures to prevent the spread of the epidemic.

In 1793, in January, after the execution of Louis XVI. in France, the sympathizers in Boston with the revolutionary movement had a great celebration. In the month of January, an ox of one thousand pounds' weight was roasted whole and carried on a cart, twenty feet high and drawn by fifteen horses, through the streets, followed by other teams carrying hogsheads of punch drawn by six horses each, and a cart loaded with bread. This was served from a table spread in State Street. While this demonstration was attracting a great concourse of people, there was a select minority of the friends of equality to the number of about four hundred, who had an elaborate dinner in Faneuil Hall. Samuel Adams acted as president of the occasion. Elaborate decorations were prepared by a gentleman named Walters.

On August 9, 1797, John Adams was honored as President of the United States by a celebration and banquet in Faneuil Hall. This was not confined to the people of Boston, but the entire State was represented in this testimonial of regard to their favored citizen.

A suggestive intimation of the condition of the negro population of Boston during and soon after the Revolution is seen in the incident, already cited, of one's refusal to serve General Howe in a scavenger party, and also in the fact, recorded by the selectmen, that on February 11, 1789, an application was made for the use of Faneuil Hall "by a number of Blacks, to hear an African Preacher, lately arrived with a good recommendation." The hall was granted for this purpose, on condition "that the meeting be held in daylight, and that no opportunity may be given rude fellows to make a disturbance."

Later in the same month it is recorded, "On application of a respectable number of inhabitants, the blacks are permitted to make use of Faneuil Hall for the purpose of public worship

one day in the week, provided it be on Tuesday or on a Friday, and in the afternoon, or until otherwise ordered."

Before taking leave of the ancient structure, let us take a look upward and see the cupola and bell-deck occupying the centre of the roof, and above it, the weather-vane. This grasshopper has ever been so important a feature of Dock Square that, not infrequently, the marketmen have found their place of business denominated "the grasshopper market." This magnified grasshopper was made of sheet-copper, hammered by hand by that "cunning artificer," Deacon Shem Drowne, in the year 1742. It has withstood the vicissitudes of one hundred and fifty-six years. This grasshopper has never become a burden, although it has, on several occasions, narrowly escaped destruction. In the autumn of 1755, when Boston was shaken to its foundations by an earthquake,¹ this insect was thrown to the ground, but rallied minus one leg, which was supplied by a son of Shem Drowne, by virtue of a vote of the selectmen in May, 1756, "To fix up the vane upon the market, which was thrown down by the great earthquake of the 18th of November last, and repair the steeple." It seems to have passed through the fire of 1761 with but slight damage, and in March, 1889, on the anniversary of the evacuation, when the flag was being lowered, the grasshopper fell to the street and was somewhat damaged. It has been taken down for repairs on other occasions, and its record, in addition to that already given, is here added. It was repaired by E. Vinal in 1852, when it was stuffed with coins and papers which came to light during the repairs of 1889, when Frank A. Worthly supplied new eyes, horns, and two new feet. When taken from its lofty position in 1898, preparatory to the general rebuilding, the vane presented a most weatherbeaten appearance; but by the skilful workmanship of E. B. Badger & Sons, coppersmiths of Pitts Street, it was repaired and placed

¹ The same that resulted in the destruction of Lisbon, where sixty thousand persons perished.

upon its time-honored perch. It received in 1899, one new leg, a splice on its tongue, a patch on its body, and was re-gilded. On one of the occasions when the grasshopper was undergoing repairs, a paper was taken from its vest pocket, on which was the following record as far as can be deciphered. It is a little faulty on dates, but of sufficient interest to be given here:—

“Shem Drowne made it, May 25, 1742.¹ To my brethren and fellow Grasshopper. Fell in ye year 1753 [1755] Nov^r 18, early in ye morning by a great earthquake by my Old Master above. . . . Again Like to have met with my Utter Ruin by fire, but hopping Timely from my Public Scituation, came of with



Broken bones and much Bruised. Cured and fixed. . . . Old Master's son Thomas Drowne June 28, 1768, and though I will promise to Discharge my Office, yet I shall vary as ye wind.”

Various reasons have been given for the selection of the peculiar design—a grasshopper—for the weather-vane. The fact that Peter Faneuil's motive in giving a market was to accommodate the agriculturists has been a satisfactory reason to many. Others have thought it was patterned after one in London. Some have thought that the design of a grasshopper was to be seen on the Faneuils' crest, but the cause, which savors of romance, is the following:—

“When Shem Drowne was a boy, he became discouraged with his repeated failures in the New World, and going out into the

¹ Shem Drowne died in 1774, aged ninety years.

country, he lay down to sleep in an open field, and was awakened by a boy chasing a grasshopper. Shem became interested in the sport and acquainted with the boy, who was the son of a wealthy man, and accompanied him to his home, where he had supper, and was later adopted by the boy's parents. When he became a successful coppersmith, he made the weather-vane in commemoration of the part a grasshopper had in the turning incident of his life."

Boston people are supposed to know what the vane of Faneuil Hall represents. Samuel Cooper, when American consul at Glasgow, tested some men who applied to him for aid. Claiming to be sailors from Boston and in need of assistance, they applied to the consul, who, being somewhat suspicious of them, asked if they could tell him what the weather-vane on Faneuil Hall was. The first said it was a fish, the second declared it to be a horse, but the third said it was a grasshopper. Upon this Mr. Cooper decided that the last was the only Boston man in the trio, and said, "I will give you all the assistance you need, but the other men will have to walk to Boston for all me. Any man who claims to be a Bostonian and can't tell what the Faneuil Hall weather-vane is, must be an impostor."

CHAPTER XIV

Faneuil Hall Market through the Revolution. Stallkeepers and the Tories. Street Lamps set up in Boston. Tallow needed for the Manufacture of Candles. Drovers of Sheep from Connecticut for the Poor. Supplies from the Country Towns. Stalls occupied Gratis. Market Regulations after the Evacuation. Stallkeepers of 1776. Relief allowed by the General Court. Changes in Market Customs. Rules as to the Quantity of Meat which should be consumed in a Day. The Meagreness of the Market. The Fish Market. Struggle with Forestallers. Rules adopted. Cage for Criminals set up in the Market-place. Opening of Charles River Bridge in 1786 affected the Market.

"In old Faneuil, that guild temple of traders and aldermen, butchers and clerks, hucksters and civic magistrates, the spirit of the people conceived an embryonic nation." — WEEDEN.

FANEUIL HALL MARKET was an institution of importance during the Revolutionary period. We have seen that it was at this time that the hall received its honored place in history, and the market, although serving a widely different purpose, became more firmly established, for the citizens abandoned the market contest and entered upon the struggle for liberty.

War always creates a demand for food supplies when the army is stationed at a distance. Leading merchants of Boston of an earlier period made their fortunes in supplying garrisons in Nova Scotia and elsewhere. Boston itself was now made a garrison in the interests of the king. Army rations that came by water sufficed for the rank and file, but the officers of the king's army had the best the town afforded. The period beginning with the Stamp Act, and extending to the closing of the port of Boston, was one of depression along the line of commercial

interests, and there was complete stagnation from the blockade until the evacuation ; but the stallkeeper of Faneuil Hall Market was free to admit that business was good, or, at least, that there was a great demand with consequent high prices, but the supply was limited.

Colonel Dalrymple and others who went about the town decked out with the king's gold lace and buttons enjoyed all the luxuries of the market, and there was no reason why their money should not procure them, until open hostilities created so strong a sentiment that many keepers of the stalls would prefer to see their goods perish rather than go to feed the minions of the king. With knife in hand, and block before them, the marketmen did not hesitate to hold arguments with the opulent Tories, who, decked out like show figures in a tailor's window, predicted the utter subjection of the rebels and triumph of the mother country. Being salaried officials, they were willing subjects of the king, but their authority had ceased to be regarded by their enraged neighbors, and they had vacated their mansions out of town and taken up temporary abodes nearer the quarters of military authority.

The butchers were frequently detected in violation of their agreement to bring in all hides and tallow to the Boston tanners and tallow chandlers, and they were more closely watched when the supply of whale-oil began to fail and the demand for tallow candles to increase.

The subject of street lamps was one that now began to exercise the minds of the people, and a committee for the purpose reported at the March town meeting of 1773 — "that for the convenience and safety of the inhabitants and their property it would be advisable for the town to erect 300 street lamps in commodious places." The estimated cost of erecting them was 30s. each, and it was thought that each lamp would require ten gallons of oil annually. The lamps, which were globes in form, were procured by subscription, and located throughout the

town by a committee for that purpose. John Rowe, Esq., was leader in this business, and John Boylston, a former citizen of Boston, but then resident of London, was the town's agent in procuring the lamps and shipping them to America. These lamps, which required so much illuminating fluid, were set and lighted just in time for the convenience of the town when British soldiers were patrolling the streets.

The tallow chandlers' business in Boston at this time was of as great importance as when Benjamin Franklin cut candlewicks in his father's shop. The extent of the manufacture of candles depended upon the raw material at hand, and delinquent butchers were summoned before the selectmen to answer to charges preferred against them at the instigation of the tallow chandlers. John Bryant, a butcher, who lived at Little Cambridge (Brighton),¹ doing his slaughtering there, and occupying two stalls in Faneuil Hall Market, was found guilty of repeated violations of the "hide and tallow agreement," and was expelled from the market in 1771.

After the Port Bill went into effect, June 1774, provisions for the citizens of the town became so scarce that the manner of vending was lost sight of in the struggle to procure food at all.

To be sure a large part of the wealthy people abandoned all, and left the town, while many of the poor were sent out by the officials to be provided for by the country people at their homes. But there were many who felt obliged to remain in Boston to protect their real estate and other interests. Distress was soon felt in the town, and there were many good citizens who looked upon the rations of the king's army with intense longing, and extreme means were resorted to in order to obtain the necessities of life. When the flocks of sheep were driven from

¹ The slaughtering industry at Brighton dates from the occupation of Cambridge by the provincial army under Washington, during the siege of Boston. Jonathan Winship established the market, and took large contracts for supplying beef.

Connecticut and elsewhere by Israel Putnam and other friends of the patriot cause, they must be slaughtered before the consumer could realize benefits from the donations. This made business for the butchers, and the selectmen were kept employed in dividing out the mutton to the hungry people, for not only Boston but Charlestown people were to be fed, and even Medford put in a petition for a share. But there came a time, early in 1775, when the people had reached a great extremity, and there was such a cry for fresh beef (Faneuil Hall Market being as bare as the cupboard of the traditional Mother Hubbard), that it was decided to sacrifice an animal belonging to the town, which was credited with having attained the age of twenty years. Even the flesh from this patriarch was denied the common people, and was sold in small quantities to the generals and other officers at 18*d.* sterling per pound. To say the least in its commendation, it had staying qualities. Perhaps General Gage in Brattle Square, with his subordinates, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, had many a lengthy discussion, while vainly trying to extract nourishment from the dearly bought muscles.

Many of the donations from the country towns were in such forms as to require the services of, neither the butcher nor marketmen. Cash was commonly sent from remote localities, but frequently accompanied by provisions. The towns near Boston were particular to send supplies for family use.

In one week's report, Marlboro was credited with 1 pr. shoes, 3 quarters Beef, 24 Bu. Rye & 5½ Bu. Indian Meal, 80 lbs. Cheese, 1 Bu. Malt.

Roxbury sent 51 lbs. Pork, 5 cords wood, 18 Bu. Potatoes, 6 Doz Cabbages, 1 Bu. Turnips.

The reports of another week have the following :—

Rutland Dis. Worcester County, 4 Quarters Beef.

Dorchester. Capt. Lemuel Robinson, 12 Quarters Beef. A Person unknown, 25 carcasses mutton.

North Kingston. 70 Sheep.

New York. 130 Bbls. flour, 9 Bbls. Pork, 12 firkins Butter, 21 Bbls. Grain: per Capt. Barnard. 214 Bbls. flour, 24 Casks Bread, 22 Casks Rye Meal, 5 Hhds. Indian Meal, 4 Tons Iron, 2 Bbls. Pork, 16 firkins Butter, 1 Pipe Brandy, per Capt. Linsley.

In another week there was received from —

Billerica. 51 Bu. Grain. Westford. 40 Bu. grain.

Lexington. 61 Cords Wood. Reading. 26 Loads wood, & 7 lbs. Pork.

Dorchester. 25 Cords wood, 5 pair Shoes.

Stoughton. 17 Loads wood.

During the week reported on Feb. 27, 1775: —

Brookfield. 19 Bu. Corn.

Marlboro. 80 Bu. grain, 36 lbs. Cheese, 61 lbs. Pork.

Milton. 55 Loads wood (containing 24 cords).

Littleton. 26 Bu. grain, 1 checked Handkerchief (home made), 1 lb. Pink flowers.

Brookline. 9 Bu. Corn, 1 Cord Wood, 18½ Bu. Potatoes, 48 Cabbages.

Cambridge. 37 Bu. Grain, 7 pair mens' shoes, 4 Loads wood, 2 Bu. Potatoes, 1 Bu. Turnips.

Concord. 118 Bu. meal.

Lunenburg. 4 Bu. Wheat, 82 Rye, 2 Bu. Indian.

Lincoln. 29 Bu. Meal, 19 Loads wood.

Dracut. 45½ Bu. Meal.

Acton. 41½ Bu. Grain, 3 lbs. Pork & Beef.

Shrewsbury. 53 Bu. Grain.

Stoughton. 80 lbs. Cheese, 13½ Bu. corn, 4 Bu. Rye, 17 Loads wood, 2 Bu. Potatoes, 1 Bu. Turnips.

Brookline. 2 fat sheep, 2 C. Rice.

Bolton. 33 Bu. grain.

Malden. Rev. Mr. Eliakim's Parish, 1 pr. Womens shoes, 2 Loads wood, 1 Ton Hay.

Lancaster. 78 Bu. grain.

Sturbridge. 8 Cheese, 2 Bbls. & 1 Bag Indian Meal, 5 Bbls. & 1 Tierce Rye & Wheat flour, 1 Bbl. Pork, 1 Bbl. Malt.

Roxbury 2d. Parish. 3 Bu. grain, $13\frac{1}{2}$ Cords wood, 40 lbs. cheese.

Brookline. 1¹/₂ Load Wood.

Medway East Parish. $53\frac{1}{2}$ lbs cheese.

Danvers, No. Parish. 10 pr. shoes, $8\frac{1}{2}$ yds. check, 2 oz. thread, 4 pr. Moose Breeches.

Dedham. 46 Cords Wood.

A month previous to the evacuation, the selectmen voted to allow persons to occupy stalls in Faneuil Hall Market gratis, providing they were not guilty of forestalling, and would bring in their provisions and dispose of them to the inhabitants in large or small quantities, agreeable to the act to prevent monopoly. On June 5, 1776, when the town was again free from the king's army and the haughty loyalists, the selectmen appointed Messrs. Scollay and Austin a committee "to regulate the market." It was a time of reconstruction generally, and on September 23 the butchers were ordered to attend a meeting of the selectmen "to settle what stalls they are respectively to hold in Faneuil Hall Market and the terms." The go-as-you-please course was no longer to be tolerated. The old question of giving local tanners the first chance to purchase the hides, and local tallow chandlers to buy the tallow, was again before the meeting, and it was then agreed that "the tanners should allow 2" (two shillings) "per hide for carting them into the town or elsewhere."—

The following is a list of those who had stalls in Faneuil Hall Market beginning with September 23, 1776:—

Thomas Mayo	a Lease for two stalls	No. 1 & 11	at 6/8 per month
Nathaniel Faxon	"	" 2 " 10	" 15/ " "
John Hildredth	"	" 3 " 9	" 16/3 " "
Lemuel Burrel	"	" 13 " 21	" 15/ " "
Jeremiah Parker	"	" 14 " 20	" 16/3 " "
Elijah White	"	" 15 " 19	" 16/3 " "

Later we find Harry Coolidge in stalls No. 4 and 8, and in a short time he was succeeded by Shubael Hewes.

Provisions were so scarce and dear that only the very wealthy, who had returned to the town with something in their purses, could afford to buy of the stallkeepers, when they had anything to sell. It was in the autumn of 1777 that the General Court empowered the commissary-general to furnish the selectmen a quantity of flour and corn for the distressed people in the town. Those town officials made an agreement with Mr. Shubael Hewes,¹ one of the stallkeepers, in regard to a meat supply as follows:—

Hewes was to have the south market, at twenty shillings per annum, for the purpose of killing cattle and preparing the meat, promising and engaging with the selectmen that the hides and tallow of all cattle slaughtered there should be sold green for the use of the manufacturers of the town of Boston, and that he would dispose of the meat at his stall in Faneuil Hall Market to the inhabitants for one penny per pound profit, and he was to leave the slaughter-house in as good repair as he found it.

While the motive underlying the contract was of the very best, it is evident to any successor of the Revolutionary marketmen, that such regulations could not long be carried out, and we find that at the close of the year it became necessary for the citizens to direct the selectmen to see that the butchers were fulfilling their contract.

Up to this time the market had not been intended as a place for the keeping, exposed for sale, small cuts of meat, from day to day, but it was chiefly a place where the seller came with goods to meet the buyer, the butcher having a stall where

¹ Shubael Hewes, brother of George Robert Twelves Hewes, was the "butchers' master-general" in the town during the siege. His shop was at the corner of Washington Street and Harvard Place, opposite the Old South, in an old building with a projecting upper story. His slaughter-house was connected with his shop. When his stock was reduced to six head of cattle for troops and inhabitants, the situation began to be alarming.

he could be found prepared to sell the meat which he had slaughtered out of town. But at the close of that year action was taken toward making arrangements with the butchers and stall occupants "respecting the meat that is cut up and may be left at the market."

A general act of the province in 1779 to prevent monopoly had its effect upon the stallkeepers. Forestalling was the difficulty, the same trouble that came so near occasioning the loss of Peter Faneuil's proffered gift of the market. Circumstances now brought on a more aggravated case of it, and a memorial of the town of Boston in regard to it, entered at the General Court, has the following strong language:—

"Your memorialists are sure their uncommon sufferings are greatly increased by the more than brutish conduct of those wretches, within a few miles of this Capital, known in the odious character of forestallers, who lost to the feelings of humanity, purchase from those at a distance and retail it out to those unhappy, distressed inhabitants, at a price suited to their unfeeling hearts, and many of them add insult to their extortion."

As a remedy for the serious condition at this time it was proposed to subscribe to the following resolutions. That the opulent have no more than two dishes of meat on the same day, on their table, and avoid the use of poultry and every superfluity, as much as possible; that the inhabitants agree universally to make two dinners a week on fish, if to be had.

While there are always two sides to all questions, the people of Boston, who were continually crying out against forestallers, or middlemen, seemed to lose sight of the fact that even this despised class found it almost impossible to obtain supplies at any rate, and, if at all, at great disadvantage. They had always depended upon the country, within a limited radius of Boston, for their supply of fresh meat in the summer season, but a broader area was drawn from in cold weather. During the war, the cattle raised for Boston market were bought up and driven

away to supply the army, outside of Massachusetts, and the men who had contributed supplies to the seaport were away in the service of their country. The market, at this period, when at its best was a meagre one. Self-denial seemed to be enjoined upon all. There was one occasion, however, which was trying to the most patriotic man of the country, who, although never without plenty of coin in his pocket, was driven to great extremity. John Hancock, the merchant prince of Boston, who risked his life and fortune in the cause of the colonies, served gratuitously as president of the Continental Congress for more than two years, and returned to Boston to find his warehouse and wharves in ashes, was desirous of doing another magnanimous thing in the interest of his country. The occasion was the visit of Count D'Estaing and the French allies, mentioned in the previous chapter. John Hancock wished to extend to the officials the courtesies due such friendly visitors, and also maintain the honor of Boston and of the United Colonies. He canvassed the market, but saw no prospect of obtaining anything there suitable for the occasion, and in this extremity he wrote to a friend at a distance.

"MONDAY NOON, 30 *August*, 1778.

"DEAR SIR: The Philistines are coming upon me on Wednesday next at Dinner. To be Serious, the Ambassador &c., &c., are to Dine with me on Wednesday, and I have nothing to give them, nor from the present prospect of our Market do I see that I shall be able to get any thing in Town; I must beg the fav^r of you to Recommend to my Man Harry where he can get some Chickens, Ducks, Geese, Hams, Partridges, Mutton, or any thing that will save my Reputation in a Dinner, and by all means some Butter; Be so good as to help me, and you will much oblige me; is there any good Mellons or Peaches, or any good fruit, near you? Your advice to Harry will much oblige me; Excuse me, I am very troublesome; Can I get a good

Turkey; I walkd in Town to-day; I dine on board the French Frigate to-morrow; so you see how I have Recovered.

"God bless you; if you see any thing good at Providence, do Buy it for me. I am Your Real friend.

"JOHN HANCOCK."¹

After about forty years of uncertainty, the market seems to have become a permanent institution. Beginning with the year 1780, there may be detected a general revival of interest in various lines of business, particularly in Faneuil Hall Market.

There was an increase in all town rents, and a greater demand for stalls in the market and stands in the square. Stalls rented from £8 to £12½ per annum, and stands were readily taken at 9s. per month. This was but the natural outcome of what promised to be a more stable government. The State constitution was adopted, and John Hancock was elected the first governor of the State, and families had returned to their abandoned homes, and a new era had dawned. In July, 1782, it appears that the rent for stalls had been increased by fifty per cent over that of 1774, and was made payable monthly, and it was stipulated that a failure to comply with the regulation should be immediately followed by expulsion. The fishermen were to pay for their boxes 3s. per month, after the fifth day of June, 1782. The stallkeepers had their petty grievances, which were adjusted in a manner similar to that of a century later. Mr. Hewes, keeper of a fish-market, appeared with several others before the selectmen and complained that Mr. Woodward was shutting up the dock where his market was located, and the offender was immediately reprimanded by the officials. It is of interest to note that the fishermen had early consideration in the market, and the "Staple of the Massachusetts" was duly recognized. At the time when the selectmen were making arrangements for the best accommodations of the fish-market at Boston, negotia-

¹ From "Family Memorials," by Edward E. Salisbury.

tions for peace were going on at Paris, and John Adams was fighting for the fishing interests of his country, naturally enough "the codfish rose to the surface," and the interests of the fishermen had home protection. When it became known that John Adams had gained the victory, and these interests of Massachusetts were made secure, the codfish was in everybody's mouth. Even the governor kept open doors at the Hancock mansion on the days when he, with his young wife (Dorothy Quincy) gave their famous codfish dinner; and no one doubts that the princely master of that house, even in the most stringent times, furnished enough good Madeira to wash it down and wet the driest whistle that essayed to sound the praise of the governor's favorite dish. To be rated at that time as of the "Codfish Aristocracy" was to be accorded the greatest honor, and according to historical etymology it is misapplied when used as a term of reproach. As one brave act of a public servant, resulting in victory, places him in many a seat of honor, so the victory for the codfish gave it an elevated position in the old State House. We read in the Journal of the House of Representatives of Wednesday, March 17, 1784: —

"Mr. Rowe moved the House that leave might be given to hang up the representation of a Cod Fish in the room where the House sit, as a memorial of the importance of the Cod Fishery to the welfare of this Commonwealth, as had been usual formerly. The said motion having been seconded, the question was put, and leave given for the purpose aforesaid." After more than a century we find the emblematic cod occupying an exalted position in the new Representative Chamber at the State House, while the people delight to feast upon their favorite dish, which has its rightful place in Faneuil Hall Market.

In March, 1783, the voters of the town put themselves on record in favor of better regulations for all departments of the public market and adopted more effectual means for enforcing the rules. Faneuil Hall Market, together with the square about

it, was assigned as the place for trade in meats, vegetables, etc., while other places were set apart for wood, hay, and other needful commodities; and one marketman could not infringe upon the rights of another without being liable to arrest and punishment by the court. To remove temptation from the vender a fine was imposed upon any person who should offer to buy goods from marketmen in other than the prescribed locality. In order that these regulations, like many before made, might not fail of producing the desired results, it was arranged to have annually chosen "Some active-spirited and faithful person who shall be called the inspector of the market, whose duty it shall be to carry the several by-laws and orders of the town, touching the arrangements of the market, into constant effect, and in order thereto he shall make it his daily duty and employment to be in attendance at the market." This market official was to be well paid for his services, and the fines collected for violation of rules were to be applied to the support and maintenance of the several departments of the market.

Even these sumptuary regulations did not meet with universal approval, and in December, 1785, Mr. Nazro, the clerk of the market, was directed to remove Messrs. Coolidge and Robinson from their stalls in Faneuil Hall Market. The vacated stalls were at once leased to Abijah Brown, there being now more applications for market space than could be readily supplied. It soon became necessary for the clerk to notify Mr. Bryant and other stallkeepers that they must cease from picking and packing provisions in the market-house or within the rails, and if they continued to do so, Mr. Nazro was ordered to "burn their barrels without the rails."

It was not long before a most salutary object-lesson was placed before the eyes of the marketmen. "The selectmen upon application from the Justice of the Court of General Sessions for the County of Suffolk thro' Mr. Price, have granted liberty for a temporary use of the east part of Market Square for the

placing a cage for the punishment of criminals." The market received a favorable impulse by the opening of Charles River bridge in 1786, which afforded a more convenient route for travel; previous to that time the farmers were restricted to Boston Neck, and the limited accommodations of the ferry. A pressing demand for stalls in June, 1787, was the means of spurring delinquents to the more prompt payment of bills. Messrs. Ruggles and Warner are recorded as walking up and discharging their obligations, long overdue. In the spring of 1788 the rent for all double stalls on the market floor was set at £12 per annum, with the exception of those numbered 2, 10, 13, 21, which were set at £8. In August, 1790, more attention was paid to the sheds or shambles in Market Square. None were to be erected without permission being obtained of the selectmen or a market committee, and all occupants were obliged to sign a contract on September 1.

In May, 1792, the duties and responsibilities of the clerk had become so important that the town directed the selectmen to have this official put under bonds for the faithful discharge of his trust, the penalty being £400. Mr. William Gooch was elected as clerk on these conditions.

In May, 1794, a bevy of the stallkeepers, in spite of fines and the hideous cage for criminals, were found to be guilty of forestalling the market, and were consequently using their influence toward defeating the purpose for which the town was laboring, — the thorough establishment of Faneuil Hall Market. Messrs. Gardner and Wise, Shepard and Alden, Wilton, Hartwell, Gore, and Paul Hall were forbidden the use of stalls in Market Square.

The West Boston bridge was opened in 1793, and had a good effect on the market. At a time when everything seemed to favor market prosperity the market house was robbed. The newspapers of the day facetiously commented on the robbery thus: "It is remarkable that the broken door of the market-house is just forty feet from the watch-house."

CHAPTER XV

The Bulfinch Faneuil Hall, 1806-1898. Middlesex Canal affects Boston. Enlargement of Faneuil Hall. Charles Bulfinch the Architect. Smibert's Plans retained. Action against British Aggression. Patriotic Meetings. Festivity because of Victory of "Old Ironsides." Independence Day Orations. Great Supply of Punch in 1810. Hall too Small for Town Meetings. Town Government changed to that of a City. Famous Men and Meetings in Faneuil Hall since Boston became a City. Faneuil Hall a Post-office. Ornaments of the Hall. Whittier's Poem, "Faneuil Hall." Faneuil Hall Oratory. The Fireproof Faneuil Hall of 1899.

THE opening years of the nineteenth century were characterized by remarkable development along industrial lines. The completion of the Middlesex Canal in 1808, providing an easy means of communication between the port of Boston and the northerly towns, gave an impetus to trade, and there was a rapid increase of population so that the accommodations of neither hall nor market were longer sufficient for the town. The original dimensions of the house, as erected by Peter Faneuil, had not been changed in the rebuilding. It was one hundred feet long by forty feet in width, affording accommodations in the hall for one thousand people, but this was too small for ordinary town meetings; and when local politics ran high, many citizens were denied a reasonable opportunity to hear and be heard.

In February, 1805, a project was before the town for filling the mill-pond;¹ this involved many interests, calling together a

¹ The old mill-pond, which stands out so prominently in the town history for a century and a half, is now represented by a large section of the business locality of the North End. An area of about seventy acres was filled, fifty acres of which were

large company of people for the public consideration of the question. The hall being far too small, the selectmen secured the use of Mr. Murray's meeting-house. This led to a movement which found expression in the March meeting, and the selectmen were constituted a committee "To consider the expediency of providing a more convenient place for assembling the inhabitants," to report at the May meeting.

Patriotic sentiment pervaded society at that time, and the people were reluctant to part with the building which had been the scene of so many memorable meetings of the Revolution. The committee, of which Charles Bulfinch was chairman, moved with caution. They had their report printed and submitted to the people of the town, before it was presented to the voters for action. A sub-committee consisting of Stephen Codman, Joseph Russell, and Elisha Ticknor was appointed to examine the entire subject. They reported on May 23, and the selectmen were directed "to proceed to enlarge Faneuil Hall in the manner and for the use pointed out in the report." The selectmen, besides Charles Bulfinch, were David Tilden, William Porter, John Tileston, Ebenezer Oliver, Jonathan Hunnewell, John May, Francis Wright, and Jonathan Chapman, names that stood for good judgment and integrity of purpose.

The question of an architect was an important one; the committee remembered that it was no less a personage than John Smibert, the painter, who was employed by Peter Faneuil to serve as architect in the construction of the first house, and to his credit Faneuil Hall stood alone, as the edifice,

used for building purposes. Copps, Beacon, and Pemberton hills furnished the filling material. The question of filling this pond involved a grant made by the town, in 1643, to Henry Simons and others on condition of their building one or more corn-mills and bridging the mill-creek at Hanover and North streets. This grant came into possession of the mill-pond corporation in 1804. The town soon released the original obligation to maintain the mills and bridges, and made way for the filling process, which occupied twenty-five years before it was fully completed. Blackstone Street follows the line of the mill-creek, through which boats and small vessels formerly passed.

all parts of the exterior of which received uniform treatment, — “round arched windows and doorways, with engaged pilasters between, carrying entablatures at the height of the various stories.” To preserve this, while providing all that was demanded, was a very difficult task. Who is sufficient for these things, was the important question. The profession of architecture had scarcely been recognized in this country, but there was one man, the chairman of the committee, who was making a mark in that direction. Charles Bulfinch, a native of the



CHARLES BULFINCH

town and a graduate at Cambridge, had gratified his taste by rebuilding his father's house, and had spent some time in England and on the Continent studying architecture, and upon his return had furnished the design for the first theatre in Boston. This prepared the way for him to serve the people in building the State House, and established his enviable reputation, so that the majority of the selectmen were justified in choosing one of

their own number for the important service.

The house was doubled in width; it was done by removing the northerly side, while the southerly side was not disturbed and in 1898 was found to be as firm as when erected in 1742; but the exposed brickwork affords evidence of the fire of 1761, yet not sufficient to weaken the masonry. The walls were carried to a greater height to admit of the galleries, which were then added on three sides at the level of the old ceiling and resting upon Doric columns. The main audience room of Faneuil Hall when finished was seventy-six feet square and twenty-eight feet in height. On the exterior a third

order of pilasters and arches was added to the two of the original edifice, there being no variation either in outline or detail through the increase of size. The pilasters add nothing to the strength of the walls, being simply ornamental, and a feature borrowed by Bulfinch from what he had seen in Europe. This edifice, which is conspicuous for its simplicity, and disappointing to tourists, might have presented a more pleasing effect if the arches of the ground floor had been left open as they were originally. The doors and windows, which take the place of the open arches, were introduced to add comfort to the stall-keepers of the market ; but they tend to give a certain blankness and monotonous effect which was not noticeable in the original house.

It is evident that but a small portion of Faneuil Hall, which gratified the eye of the generous townsman who gave it to Boston, is still standing. Yet it is Faneuil Hall with all its sacred associations, as "Old Ironsides" after its many changes is the same frigate with its story of heroic deeds.

The amount expended on the house in 1805-1806 was \$56,692, which was provided through the sale of land on old Fort Hill and by taxation. The agents in the work received ten per cent of the outlay.

As the March meeting of 1806, for the election of town officers, was held in Faneuil Hall, it appears that the work was done within a period of one year.

Remembering that very soon after the rebuilding of the hall in 1763, the patriots made use of it as a place for holding meetings to protest against the aggressions of the mother country, we turn to see history repeating itself soon after the work of rebuilding in 1806 ; for in the following year, on July 16, action was taken in Faneuil Hall upon the British aggression, in the unprovoked attack on the United States armed ship *Chesapeake* by the British ship-of-war *Leopard*. This they declared to be "a wanton outrage upon the lives of our fellow-citizens, a

direct violation of our national honor, and an infringement of our national rights and sovereignty." Then followed a period of intense excitement, when Faneuil Hall was frequently resorted to by the people of Boston, in order to give expression to their feelings. In spite of the wrongs being perpetrated upon our people, there were the Federalists, who, when they found the Republicans wanted war, set themselves against it with all the bitterness of party hatred. They saw in the war



FANEUIL HALL IN 1806

feeling of Jefferson, Madison, and the Republicans, a desire to go against England in order that they might deliver the United States up to France, then at war with England. Faneuil Hall then, and ever since, has been the people's hall, and freedom of speech was not denied any parties. In August, 1808, the voters of the town make record of their action; they pass resolutions to the President of the United States, in which they say, "We trust that the his-

tory of the Revolutionary War and the annals of the present government will furnish ample testimony of our readiness to make any personal sacrifice and endure any privations which the public welfare may require." They, however, soon saw their impending ruin in the "Embargo Act," which placed restrictions upon the maritime commerce, and in January, 1809, they sought relief through the General Court of the State, declaring that the "Embargo is war in disguise and is soon to be followed by open war." Their predictions were soon realized, and in some respects they pursued the course fol-

lowed by their ancestors of the Revolution. Early in 1812 they met in Faneuil Hall and passed resolutions, copies of which were sent out to each town in the Commonwealth.

The people soon had a joyful occasion in the hall, a festival being held in honor of Captain Hull on his return from the fight with the *Guerrière*, when the *Constitution* had put an end to the British frigate.

In February, 1815, the hall was the scene of a marked demonstration; frowns no longer appeared upon the face of the people, and Peace! Peace! were the gladsome words expressed by all. The news had just been received of the signing of the treaty of peace between this country and Great Britain on the 26th of December previous.

The people of Boston had observed the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence from the year 1783, when the annual Massacre Oration of March 5 was abolished and the observance gave way to that of the Fourth of July. But in the year 1810 there was an unusually spirited observance. So much punch was provided, that five barrels were left, and on the following day seven hundred persons, without distinction of party, were regaled in Faneuil Hall on this left-over stock. How much was provided for the celebration the annalist has not reported.

The oration of Independence Day has often been given in the Cradle of Liberty. In 1843 it was by Charles Francis Adams, and was his first appearance on a public platform. His venerable father, John Quincy Adams, ex-President, was his most earnest listener, and when leaving the hall said of the occasion, "This is one of the happiest days of my whole life; fifty years expire to-day since I performed, in Boston, my first public service in the delivery of an oration to celebrate our national independence."

The return of peace gave a new impulse to business, and the population of the town soon became upward of forty-three thou-

sand, while the voting list footed up seven thousand. It was impossible to manage a town meeting with so great a company who wished to exercise their right of suffrage—even John Hancock and Samuel Adams, famous for their ability as moderators in their time, would have failed, and their successors realized that some other plan must be adopted in order to secure justice for all. A minority of busy wire-pullers were having their own way regardless of the wisdom of plans, when it was impossible for the majority to hear the discussion and rulings of the platform. The subject of taxation was one that hastened the day of change from the time-honored form of town government to that of a city, and after a long and severe controversy, when partisan spirit ran riot, a vote was obtained on January 7, 1822, to change from town to city government. After all the preliminaries incident to the preparation and adoption of the charter had been carried through, the day memorable in the history of Boston arrived. It was Wednesday, May 1, 1822, when the town fathers laid down their sceptre and the new officials took up the reins of government. The Boston town meeting was over. The citizens who constituted the last board of selectmen of the town of Boston were Eliphalet Williams, Daniel Baxter, Jonathan Loring, Abram Babcock, David W. Child, Samuel Billings, Jeremiah Fitch, Robert Fennelly, Samuel A. Wells.

To attempt to enumerate all the memorable meetings held in Faneuil Hall since Boston became a city is a task beyond the range of this volume. It has been identified with very many local and national events of history during this period.

Here Daniel Webster moved the people by his eloquence on several occasions, notably in 1826, when he delivered a eulogy on the two ex-Presidents, Adams and Jefferson, who died on the Fourth of July of that year. Seven thousand copies of "the eloquent discourse" were printed at the expense of the city and freely distributed. Here in 1837 Wendell Phillips made his maiden speech, which turned the tide of opinion in favor of

Dr. Channing's abolition resolutions. The great series of anti-slavery meetings here for a generation made the walls echo with an eloquence such as Boston had not heard since the days of Otis and Samuel Adams. Everett, Choate, Sumner, Parker, Hillard, and many others, whose names appear on the immortal scroll of the nation, have here given utterance to deep thought and convincing argument.

Many great men of other countries have been entertained in Faneuil Hall, among them Lord Ashburton, the promoter with Webster of the treaty which bears his name; the Prince de Joinville, afterward Louis Philippe, king of France, was a guest here.

Strange though it may seem at this day, free speech has not always had the platform in Faneuil Hall. On March 31, 1847, a temperance meeting, when Deacon Grant presided, was broken up; and in 1850, November 15, a Free Soil meeting was broken up.

There were stirring scenes during the Civil War. In 1863 the police department met at Faneuil Hall, under the chief, for military drill; and in 1870 the police held a grand ball to raise funds for the benefit of disabled soldiers. After the great fire of 1872 the post-office was moved to Faneuil Hall for temporary quarters. In 1873, on April 5, four hundred and twenty passengers from the wrecked steamer *Atlantic* were sheltered here when en route for New York.

The Massachusetts Mechanics' Charitable Association formerly held its fairs in Faneuil and Quincy halls, which were connected by bridging the street between.

The historical interest of the hall is increased by the paintings, busts, and other adornments. The most conspicuous painting consists of a canvas sixteen by thirty feet, representing Honorable Daniel Webster replying to Hayne in the United States Senate, on January 26 and 27, 1830. This occupies a central position in the rear of the speaker's stand.

It is flanked on either side by portraits given by Samuel Parkman to the city of Boston,—that of Peter Faneuil is in place of the one destroyed, or which disappeared during the siege of Boston; it was copied by Colonel Henry Sargent from a smaller one—a gift to the Art Museum from Miss Jones, a grandchild of Peter Faneuil's sister Mary Anne (Marian).

The full-length portrait of Washington is the work of Gilbert Stuart, and was presented to the town in 1806. The letter accompanying the gift is on file at the City Hall.

The portraits of Hancock, Warren, John Adams, and John Quincy Adams are by Copley.

That of Anson Burlingame was painted by A. H. Bicknell, and given by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Joseph F. Paul, and associates.¹

Other portraits are those of Samuel Adams, Edward Everett, Governor Andrew, Robert Treat Paine, Caleb Strong, Commodore Preble, General Knox, Rufus Choate, President Lincoln, Admiral Winslow, Wendell Phillips.²

There are marble busts of several sons of New England who did valiant service for their country.

The clock in the rear of the hall was given by the children of Boston in 1850.

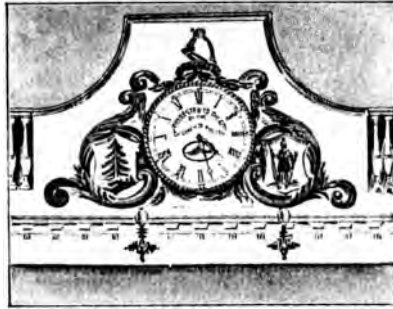
The eagle was formerly in the old United States Bank, but at

¹ Anson Burlingame, after long and faithful service to Massachusetts, was appointed by President Lincoln in 1861 minister to Austria, but was not recognized because of his outspoken favor of Hungarian independence. He was then sent as minister to China. In 1867, Prince Kung, regent of the empire, offered to appoint him special envoy to the United States and the great European powers for the purpose of forming treaties of amity, an honor never before conferred on a foreigner. At the head of a numerous mission he arrived in the United States in March, 1868; went to England, and thence to France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Prussia, in all of which but France he negotiated important treaties or articles of agreement. He reached St. Petersburg in 1870, and had just entered upon the duties of his mission when he died. His body was brought to Boston and laid in state in Faneuil Hall.

² In 1883, the body of Wendell Phillips lay in state in Faneuil Hall, on the same platform where, in his ardent youth, he had uttered his first scathing denunciations of the slave power and its defenders.

the expiration of the charter the building was purchased by the State Bank, and the eagle was placed in Faneuil Hall.

Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian exile, was a guest of the Commonwealth in 1852, when Hon. George S. Boutwell was governor, and received official recognition and honor in Faneuil Hall. The first meeting in the hall was on Thursday evening, April 29, when it was said that few larger audiences ever gathered in Faneuil Hall, and probably none so remarkable for intelligence and character. To



secure a ticket of admission it was necessary to exhibit a Hungarian bond. On the following evening the hall was the scene of a grand legislative banquet in honor of the Exile for Liberty. There were eight hundred tickets sold, the price being two dol-

lars each; but so great was the interest that large premiums were paid.

Prominent among the decorations were the American, British, and Hungarian flags draping the statue of Kossuth.

On Friday evening, May 14, the noted Hungarian made his farewell address in Faneuil Hall, which was crowded with



holders of the bonds. This indicated the readiness of the people of Massachusetts to aid in the struggle for Hungarian liberty. It was at these meetings that Hon. Anson Burlingame declared his interest in favor of Hungarian independence, which prevented

him from being recognized by Austria as United States minister in 1861.

All lovers of freedom and of Faneuil Hall have reason to be thankful that New England's Quaker bard has left verses inscribed to Faneuil Hall. They were written in 1844, on reading a call by "a Massachusetts freeman" for a meeting in Faneuil Hall of the citizens of Massachusetts opposed to the annexation of Texas.

Men ! if manhood still ye claim,
If the Northern pulse can thrill,
Roused by wrong or stung by shame,
Freely, strongly still ;
Let the sounds of traffic die ;
Shut the mill-gate, leave the stall ;
Fling the axe and hammer by ;
Throng to Faneuil Hall !

Wrongs which freemen never brooked,
Dangers grim and fierce as they
Which, like crouching lions, looked
On your fathers' way ;
These your instant zeal demand,
Shaking with their earthquake call
Every rood of Pilgrim land,
Ho, to Faneuil Hall !

From your capes and sandy bars,
From your mountain ridges cold,
Through whose pines the westering stars
Stoop their crowns of gold ;
Come, and with your footsteps wake
Echoes from that holy wall ;
Once again, for Freedom's sake,
Rock your fathers' hall !

Up, and tread beneath your feet
Every cord by party spun ;
Let your hearts together beat
As the heart of one.

Banks and tariffs, stocks and trade,
Let them rise or let them fall !
Freedom asks your common aid,—
Up, to Faneuil Hall.

Up, and let each voice that speaks
Ring from thence to Southern plains,
Sharply as the blow which breaks
Prison-bolts and chains !
Speak as well becomes the free ;
Dreaded more than steel or ball
Shall your calmest utterances be,
Heard from Faneuil Hall.

Have they wronged us? Let us then
Render back nor threats nor prayers ;
Have they chained our free-born men?
Let us unchain theirs!
Up, your banner leads the van,
Blazoned, "Liberty for all!"
Finish what your sires began ;
Up, to Faneuil Hall !

FANEUIL HALL ORATORY¹

"In the annals of the American Continent, there is no place more distinguished for powerful eloquence than Faneuil Hall. The flame which roused a depressed people from want and degradation arose from the Altar of Liberty in Faneuil Hall. The language which made a monarch tremble upon his throne for safety, and which inspired New England with confidence in a cause both arduous and bold, unprepared and unassisted, against a royal bulwark of hereditary authority, had its origin in Faneuil Hall. Those maxims of political truth which have extended an influence over the habitable globe, and have given rise to new republics, where despotism once held a court, glutted with the blood that would be free, were first promulgated in Faneuil Hall."

¹ From the *News Letter* of April, 1826.

"Tyranny, with all its concomitant evils, was first exposed, and the great machine of human wisdom, which was to emancipate man from the rapacious jaws of the British Lion, was



FANEUIL HALL, WITH SHAMBLES AT THE RIGHT

The white line indicates size of the earlier building. From Snow's "History of Boston."

put in active operation in Faneuil Hall. The story of our country's future greatness, her power, her learning, her magnitude, her final independence, were told prophetically in the same immortal forum."

CHAPTER XVI

The Rebuilding of 1898-1899. The Architect, the Builder, and the Modern Structure.

THE Faneuil Hall of 1806 remained substantially the same as when completed according to the plans of Charles Bulfinch, until the summer of 1898, although fears had been entertained as to the safety of the building; danger from fire having been most imminent, the interior being of wood and plaster; and, too, there were evident signs of weakness in the sagging of timbers and leaning of the tower. It was at length decided to reconstruct the building with fireproof material, on the original plan. The appropriation at first made was \$80,000, but, proving insufficient, was increased to \$103,000, together with \$1500 for furnishings. The architectural work of the rebuilding of 1898-1899 was done in the architects' division of the engineering department of the city of Boston, of which Professor F. W. Chandler, of the Institute of Technology, was the consulting architect, Frank W. Howard being chief. The work at the hall was done under the supervision of Arthur E. Anderson, of the architects' department. The contract for the labor was made with Messrs. Woodbury and Leighton, famous builders of the time, whose best credentials are the many imposing structures that have been erected by them, notably Boston Public Library, Harvard Medical School, Bowdoin Square Theatre, and additions and alterations in the State House as built by plans of Charles Bulfinch. The contract was signed July 1,

1898, on the part of the city by Josiah Quincy, then mayor, and the hall was ready for use early in October, 1899. It would have been perfected within the limit of one year had the builders not been delayed two months in waiting for iron. Owing to the peculiar construction of the old building, the architect had a difficult task; but so exactly were the plans made and the work executed that no violence was done the patriotic sentiment of the people who love the Cradle of Liberty. The wood and combustible material were removed, and iron, with steel and stone, put in its place, in such perfect manner that the hall lost nothing of its identity, and when opened again to the public, in the autumn of 1899, it was Faneuil Hall, with all its sacred memories. While creditable to the modern architects, it still bears testimony to the skilfulness of Smibert and Bulfinch, and reminds the thoughtful visitor of Peter Faneuil, the Huguenot merchant of Boston in provincial days.

So thoroughly had the Faneuil Hall sentiment pervaded all classes of society that the most matter-of-fact workman employed upon the house in preparation for the rebuilding was careful that nothing should be lost that had any place in history. When removing a sheet of copper from the top of the deck of the cupola, there was found upon the under side the following record: "J. H. Wheeler and Charles Parker opened this, August, 1835." After nearly sixty-five years it appeared that these workmen were remembered by what they had done. The cupola is an exact duplicate of the original design, in iron, steel, and copper, and identifies that of Smibert in all but location, which was formerly in the centre of the roof. The steel bell of the present time was cast at Philadelphia in 1866, and placed in the house April 15, 1867. The bell that was tolled during the funeral of Peter Faneuil was lost in the fire of 1761, and that which later replaced it proved inadequate, and was superseded by the one of familiar tone.

The main entrance to Faneuil Hall was never satisfactory, so



David Denny

unpretentious being the doorways that many an intelligent tourist has inquired where they could be found, when he was directly in front of them; but this disappointing feature might have been accepted as a reminder that the one purpose of Peter Faneuil was to provide a market, and that the hall was an after consideration.

This main entrance was always a hindrance to a correct conception of the building, on account of the extremely awkward rise of the steps. These were replaced by Milford granite steps which extend across the three openings and tie them together, making one satisfactory entrance where before there were three separate ones. The old lanterns and wrought iron brackets which embellished the entrance of 1806 were reproduced identically, and fitted for the electric current. The wooden balusters and treads were superseded by wrought iron work, but the same old cherry hand-rail, which had been clasped by thousands of famous men and women, was used, in part, in the rebuilding.

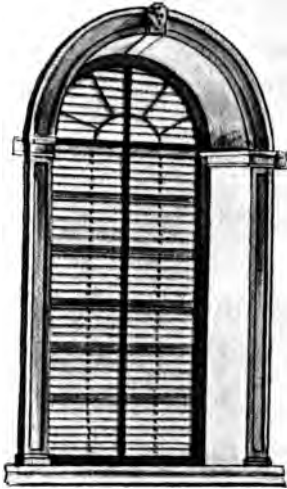


AN ENTRANCE DOOR

The stair columns, like all other columns throughout the building, were reproduced in steel and cement. The floors of the hallways are made of broken marble of variegated colors, laid in cement and rubbed down to secure a perfectly smooth, polished surface, having a border of gray Knoxville marble.

The preserved and restored wooden doors of 1806 bear testimony to the power and influence of public sentiment. The wrought iron hinges on which they had swung for almost a century were decided to be satisfactory to the builders of 1899. The old cut glass knobs, familiar to generations, were retained, being left to remind those yet to come of the simplicity of such

fixtures of a century ago. With these exceptions the fittings of the doors were in bronze metal. In preserving the Bulfinch architecture, due attention was given to the several apartments of the building. The custodians' room, leading from the stairway hall, was embellished by a handsome mantel the entire width of the chimney breast, having a facing of green marble. In the corresponding room, on the opposite side of the hall, was placed a smaller mantel with a fire opening composed of



A WINDOW IN REAR OF
PLATFORM

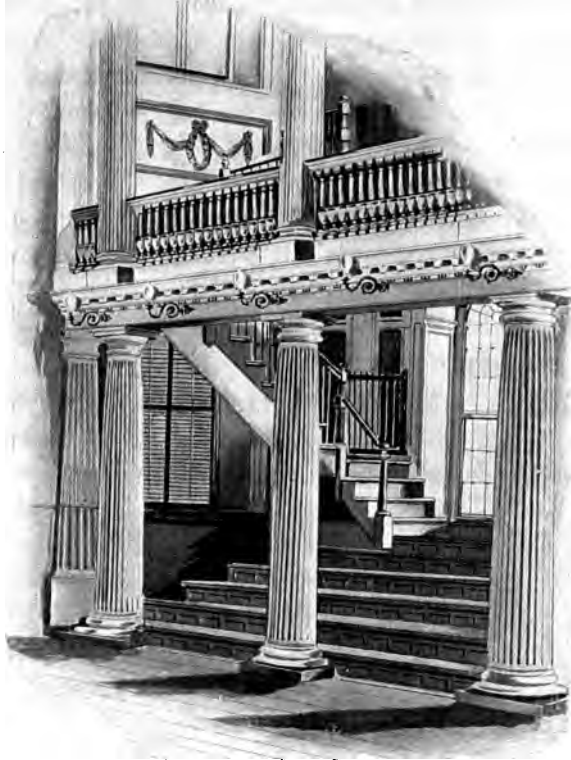
brick of an old Dutch pattern. The chaste beauty of the main auditorium of the real Faneuil Hall is more fully appreciated when free from the canvas ornaments so familiar to people of recent generations, and which no one would be willing to part with; but the largest picture—which has so long covered the entire rear of the hall—has obscured the beauty of this particular display of Bulfinch architecture.

The Doric columns under the gallery are surmounted by the original balustrade. Ionic columns above carry the entablature in exact duplicate of the old. The caps of the columns are picked out in gold, presenting a brilliant decorative art.

The steps on either side of the hall as well as those in the gallery consist of steel stringers with wrought iron risers and have treads of hard pine. The risers are perforated to allow the escape of heated air when passing through galvanized iron ducts, which extend the entire length under the treads. The steps in the gallery, which previously were of unequal rise and tread, were made uniform in the rebuilding.

The alterations made in the speaker's platform at the rear of the hall were for the purpose of returning to the original plan,

which had been changed after the rebuilding of 1806, and which interfered with the designs of Mr. Bulfinch and detracted from the pleasing appearance of the room. Conveniences for reporters were not considered at the opening of the century,



A CORNER OF THE HALL

and the architect gave no heed to them; but with the closing years of the century the public looks to the reportorial staff for the utterances of the platform, and Faneuil Hall of 1899 affords them ample accommodation.

The wall at the rear of the platform, presented to view as one enters Faneuil Hall, affords a very interesting appearance,

and the public would be glad to have it remain in view could it have been done without sacrificing that famous painting of Webster's reply to Hayne which to the present generation has become a part of the hall. The first story windows with their semicircular heads and keystones, consisting of carved busts, are surmounted by a festoon panel, which, like the caps of the columns, is picked out in gold. The walls of the interior of the house were made attractive by an effective treatment of colonial colors; white and old gold and soft buffs, rich reds, and greens being the prevailing colors throughout. The decorative feature of the ceiling consists of the conventional lotus leaf design. Previously this ornamentation was recessed in the ceiling, but it could not be duplicated under present conditions and arrangements for lighting. These were unthought of in Bulfinch's day, and were useless when the selectmen of 1742 provided the first complement of candles by vote of that board of officials. In arranging for the lighting of the hall, due attention was paid to the preservation of the bronze brackets of colonial design.

Faneuil Hall was built at a time when but little attention was paid to ventilation and the means for heating were most crude and inadequate, but through the reconstruction of 1899 it was made a model in all of the appointments which are indispensable to a place of public convocation at the close of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XVII

Mayor Josiah Quincy's Great Enterprise. Granite Building erected. Plate deposited under Corner-stone. The New House named Faneuil Hall Market. Stalls under Faneuil Hall abandoned. How Stalls were selected and assigned. Description of Faneuil Hall Market of 1826. New Faneuil Hall Market opened in 1858.

"Faneuil Hall will bear down to the latest time the name of a private citizen in acknowledgment of a single munificent act."

THE market space received the same enlargement as the hall over it by the rebuilding of 1806. According to the town treasurer's report of that year, but eight stalls were rented; four of these were leased for \$2.00 each per week and the others for \$1.50 each per week, making the income to the town for that year for stalls, \$728. The sheds or shambles in Market Square were rented for \$520. This was the return for the first year after the improved accommodations of the market. But it was difficult to keep pace with the growth of the town. More stalls were taken, so that the income from that source in 1811 was \$1,332.67. The familiar cry against forestalling was heard in town meeting again, and in March, 1813, Peter Thacher, Benjamin Russell, and Joseph Callender were constituted a committee to investigate and report.

Among the many affairs of public concern that naturally presented themselves for consideration during the first year of city government was the enlargement of Faneuil Hall Market; but the year closed and with it the administration of Mr. Phillips, and no decided steps were taken for the accommodation of the

market. There was an imperative demand in this direction. The floor space of the market was inadequate and uncomfortable. The whole space occupied by the stalls and around the building did not exceed fourteen thousand square feet. The stalls were declared unhealthful and difficult of access. The shambles were without glass windows and had no doors. These were the quarters for the dealers in fish and vegetables, who suffered greatly in health from the exposure here unavoidable.

As the people came together at Faneuil Hall, on the first of May, 1823, for the service of inauguration of Josiah Quincy as the second mayor, they were fully impressed with the limitations and unsanitary conditions of the market.

The mayor with his associates in authority early gave attention to the needs of the city in this direction; they saw that it was impossible to introduce order and systematic government to the market so wanting in local accommodations, and in the first month of the new administration positive action for the needed remedy was under way. The mayor referred the subject to both branches of the city council, of which he was chairman, but the public mind was not awake to the demands of a near future, and a means for temporary relief only were at first suggested; but Mr. Quincy looked far beyond the immediate demands and advocated a plan of so great proportions that he incurred the most severe opposition on the part of many of the most prominent citizens, including those who were regarded as ready for progressive measures.

It is impossible for the people to realize the extent of the anxiety and labor which brought about the blessings enjoyed to-day. But with the wisdom of a statesman and the foresight of a prophet Mr. Quincy prosecuted the herculean task.

The real merit of an enterprise is seen in its consequences. If those good citizens who denounced the second mayor of this city when he advanced the plan of new market facilities could speak for themselves to-day, they would readily admit that the



Josiah Quincy

MAYOR QUINCY'S GREAT ENTERPRISE 173

enterprise of Mayor Josiah Quincy,¹ when considered in the light of its consequences, is one of the greatest in the history of Boston.

He went carefully about the work. An undertaking involving so large an amount of property and affecting so many private rights could not be prosecuted without the expressed sanction of the people. This was obtained by a vote in January, 1824. The next step was to obtain authority from the legislature. In the meantime public sentiment had been aroused to the point where many owners of real estate, involved in the plan, came to an agreement tending to the desired end.

The magnitude of this plan can be grasped only by considering that the land involved included that occupied by the new market, covering twenty-seven thousand feet, North and South Market streets, with the blocks on either side, extending from the former to Clinton Street, and from the latter to Chatham Street, together with other intersecting streets, passages, and rows. The land on which stand the business blocks parallel to the new market house was sold to individual purchasers for the erection of buildings with certain prescribed conditions. That on the north side of the dock was sold by auction on September 29, 1824. The prices paid ranged from \$7 to \$33½ per square foot. The space of 30,037½ feet, divided into thirty-six lots, brought \$303,495.44.

The lots on the south side were sold March 31, 1825. The prices paid ranged from \$10 to \$21 per square foot. The space of 33,865 feet, divided into twenty-two lots, brought \$403,848.13. The conditions were that the buildings must be erected within a given time, they must be of brick, with hammered stone front,

¹ Josiah Quincy, instrumental in building the market house in 1826, was mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1828 inclusive. His son, Josiah Quincy, was mayor from 1846 to 1848 inclusive. The next generation of the family was Josiah Phillips Quincy; he was succeeded by Josiah Quincy, his son, who was mayor of Boston from 1896 to 1899 inclusive, and was the official who signed the contract for rebuilding Faneuil Hall in 1898

granite piers, in strict conformity with a plan drawn by Mr. Alex. Parris. They must be four stories high with slated roof, and a cellar water-tight. These blocks measure about five hundred and thirty feet in length from Merchants Row to the street at the east end of the market house, Commercial Street. Having followed the disposal of the land not needed for the public use, we are prepared to consider the erection of the market house, which was to be one hundred and two feet from the building on the south side and sixty-five feet from that on the north side. The demolishing of the old buildings covering the land, the filling of the docks, and other labor necessary for clearing the large area in preparation for laying the corner-stone of the new market were all done without accident to any person, and the corner-stone was laid with much ceremony in April, 1825.

Alexander Parris was the architect.

PROCEEDINGS OF LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF FANEUIL HALL MARKET

[From *Columbian Centinel* of April 30, 1825.]

On Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of April, 1825, the corner-stone of the New Faneuil Hall Market was laid by the Mayor of the City, in the presence of the members of the City Council, the Superintendent and workmen of the building, and a large number of citizens. The city Government assembled in Faneuil Hall at eleven o'clock and moved to the site of the new edifice in the following order preceded and flanked by peace officers :

The Mayor.

The City Marshal bearing the chest containing the deposits.

The other Members of the Building Committee.

Aldermen.

Members of the Common Council.

Clerks of the two Boards.

Principal Architect, &c.

The corner-stone (a large block of Chelmsford granite) was suspended by a pulley over the foundation-stone, in a cavity of which a leaden box, or chest, was deposited, and which contained maps and plans, City Charter, Rules and Regulations of the Council: Twenty-two Newspapers published during the preceding week, including all the weekly, semi-weekly, and daily papers, the Price Current, and *Masonic Magazine*.

Bowen's "History of Boston" and a chest containing coins, ancient and modern: also various denominations of the paper currency of the Revolution.

In addition to the above there was a silver plate weighing fifteen ounces, eleven inches by seven, on which was the following inscription:

FANEUIL HALL MARKET.

Established by the city of Boston. This stone was laid April 27, Anno Domini MDCCCXXV., in the forty-ninth year of American Independence, and in the third of the Incorporation of the city.

Josiah Quincy, *Mayor*.

Aldermen: Daniel Baxter, George Odiorne, David W. Child, Joseph Hawley Dorr, Asher Benjamin, Enoch Patterson, Caleb Eddy, Stephen Hooper.

Members of the Common Council.

Francis J. Oliver, *President*.

Ward No. 1. William Barre, John Elliot, Michael Tombs, Joseph Wheeler.

Ward No. 2. William Little, Jr., Thaddeus Page, Oliver Reed, Joseph Stone.

Ward No. 3. John R. Adon, John D. Dyer, Edward Page, William Sprague.

Ward No. 4. Joseph Coolidge, Jeremiah Fitch, Robert G. Shaw, William R. P. Washburn.

Ward No. 5. Eliphalet P. Hartshorn, Elias Haskell, George W. Otis, Winslow Wright.

Ward No. 6. Joseph S. Hastings, Joel Prouty, Thomas Wiley, William Wright.

Ward No. 7. Charles P. Curtis, William Goddard, Elijah Morse, Isaac Parker.

Ward No. 8. John Ballard, Jonathan Davis, John C. Gray, Hawkes Lincoln.

Ward No. 9. Benjamin Russell, Eliphalet Williams, Samuel K. Williams, Benjamin Willis.

Ward No. 10. Francis J. Oliver, James Savage, Phineas Upham, Thomas B. Wales.

Ward No. 11. Samuel Frothingham, Giles Lodge, Charles Sprague, Josiah Stedman.

Ward No. 12. Charles Bemis, Samuel Bradlee, Francis Jackson, Isaac Thorn.

Building Committee.

Josiah Quincy, *Chairman.*

David W. Child, Asher Benjamin, Enoch Patterson, Francis J. Oliver, Benjamin Russell, Charles P. Curtis, Thaddeus Page, Eliphalet Williams, Joseph Coolidge, William Wright.

Alexander Parris, *Principal Architect.*

John Quincy Adams, *President of the United States.*

Marcus Morton, *Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

Memoranda. — The population of the City estimated at fifty thousand; that of the United States eleven million.

Engraved by Hazen Mors

The stone having been placed in its proper position and cemented, the Mayor announced that the corner-stone was now

erected of an edifice which would be a proud memorial of the public spirit and unanimity of the City Council, and of the liberality of their fellow-citizens : an edifice which, he anticipated, would be an ornament to the City, a convenience to its inhabitants, a blessing to the poor, an accommodation to the rich, and an object of pleasure to the whole community.

The question of the name of the new market was one of importance, and was a subject freely discussed by the leading people of the town. Many saw great propriety in naming the market in honor of the second mayor of the city, through whose perseverance it was erected ; but there were others who kept in memory the name of Peter Faneuil, who, despite the opposition of many citizens of the town, had given the market house in 1742 to which the donor's name had been attached. The question was thought to involve not only a moral but a legal responsibility, and was taken in advisement by the City Council, who received a statement from the mayor, of the obligations of the city, resulting from the donation of Peter Faneuil and from the vote passed by the town of Boston in reference to that donation. The statement made by Mayor Quincy was a brief summary of the facts of the history of Faneuil Hall, concluding thus : "No obligation rests upon the town in consequence of their vote, accepting the donation of Peter Faneuil, Esq., which can possibly affect any use of that part of the land, covered by the building called Faneuil Hall, which was originally covered by the building erected by Peter Faneuil, Esq."

The magnanimity of Mayor Quincy, for whom the people desired to name the new market, appears in the recommendation with which his report was finished : "The great object of Peter Faneuil, Esq., was to locate a market in the vicinity of the town dock. For this purpose his donation seems to have been made, and it seems to be due to his memory and to the generosity which distinguished his original donation, that the

market established in that vicinity should be known by the name of 'Faneuil Hall Market,' and that the name of the building called Faneuil Hall shall continue appropriated to that building. This name was given to that building in 1742, and it appears only to be necessary that it should be declared by the City Council that the market established in the new building, recently erected to the eastward of Faneuil Hall, shall be known by the name of Faneuil Hall Market, and that a vote similar to that passed in 1761 be also now passed by the City Council."

The mayor's report was submitted by letter, and the Board of Aldermen thereupon resolved, "That as soon as the new Market House shall be finished and ready for occupation, the Mayor and Aldermen be authorized and empowered to cause a market to be opened therein; to be known and called by the name of the Faneuil Hall Market." They further — "Resolved, That as soon as the said market be opened, the lower part of the building called Faneuil Hall, shall no longer be improved as a market, until the further determination of the City Council, and that the Mayor and Aldermen be, and hereby are authorized to cause all the stalls in the lower floor of said Faneuil Hall, and all the building to the northward and westward of Faneuil Hall, occupied as stalls, to be taken down, and to pass such orders, limiting Faneuil Hall Market to the streets called North and South Market streets, and the building recently erected thereon, as they may deem expedient."

In the next issue of the *Boston News Letter and City Record*, August 19, appeared the following, under the head, "New Faneuil Hall Market." "The spacious and superb edifice is now nearly completed, in all its various departments; and the lower floor where are fixed the Stalls or Benches, for the disposition and sale of provisions, will be immediately occupied by the persons who have rented them."

It was not, however, until a week later that the market was

opened. August 26, 1826, was the day of formal opening. It was on Saturday, and the same paper said:—

“There was a fine display of the fruits and productions of our exuberant soil.”

The change from the cramped quarters under Faneuil Hall to the new commodious building was great, and the stallkeepers were ready for business, as they have ever been. “There was a scramble to have the first sale, and all were on hand when the market bell was heard sending out its first note of invitation.

Tradition says that Mr. Paul Wild, of Quincy, was the successful man who served a waiting customer with a leg of lamb on that Saturday morning of 1826.

The prospect of the new market was the one subject of discussion, for it was freely predicted that Mayor Quincy was getting the youthful city into a debt that she could never recover from. To quiet the frightened people the *Boston Advertiser* of that day took the pains to publish the following facts:—

“NEW FANEUIL HALL MARKET

“The new market house is occupied for the first time to-day. We understand the stalls are leased at the same rate, in proportion to the number of feet, that was paid for those in the old market.

“The leases of stalls amount to \$19,000, and those of the cellars to \$6000; thus giving an annual income from the cellars and lower floor of \$25,000. The income from the chambers and from the wharf is not yet ascertained. The sum of \$100,000 has been offered for the purchase of the wharf, and refused.”

At the opening the space was divided into 108 stalls, or benches, for meat and vegetables, and twenty for fish.

The committee designated the manner of occupying these

stalls, and fixed the prices of them at the following moderate rates per week, viz. :—

In the westerly, or first section, for the sale of small meats	\$4.00
In the section for the sale of pork only, viz., rent of the four benches adjacent to the side door	4.50
The other fifteen benches in the same section	3.50
One bench, adjoining the staircase	2.50
Four benches adjoining side door	3.50
Fourteen benches in the same section	3.00
The fourth section, consisting of sixteen benches for the sale of beef and pork, each	3.00
In the fifth section, westerly part, for the sale of butter and cheese, and the easterly part, for the sale of vegetables, and four benches ad- jacent to the side door	3.50
Fifteen other benches in the same section, each	3.00
In the sixth section, for the sale of vegetables only, viz., four benches adjacent to the side door	3.00
Fifteen other benches in the same section, each	2.75
In the seventh section, for the sale of fish, containing twenty benches of seven feet, each	1.50

It was urged that the low rental would secure good and faithful tenants. The amount of weekly rents of that floor was \$273.25. It was the duty of the clerk to make the collections, and he soon found that he could do but little else, for each stallkeeper was not always ready to respond at the first call.

The sentiment of the people at the opening of the market is seen in a letter now in possession of Miss Sara E. Cushman of Newtonville. It was written under date of August 25, 1826, by Mr. Ripley, a merchant on India Wharf, to his sister, a teacher at Kingston, Massachusetts. After urging Miss Ripley to come to the city, he says: "Put on your best bib and bonnet, then and there be ready to take the first stage, so as to be in the city by noon, so as to pass the afternoon in viewing the North and South Market streets and the market, which separates the two streets and which is the market of all mar-

kets on the Globe, which, by the by, is to be opened to-morrow, the 26^{inst}."

A description of Faneuil Hall Market, published at the time of its completion, is as follows:—

"Faneuil Hall Market House is situated at the East of Faneuil Hall, between two streets called North and South Market streets having two streets passing at right angles at the West and East fronts, the one being 76 feet, and the other at the East end, making the Wharf 65 feet wide. North Market Street is 65 feet wide, the south 102 feet, each street having a range of



FANEUIL HALL MARKET, BUILT IN 1826

stores, four stories high with granite fronts, the range of stores on the North side 520 feet, and 55 feet deep—on the South 530 feet and 65 feet deep, an arched avenue in centre of each range 5 feet wide, communicating with the adjoining streets; the façade of which is composed of piers, lintell, and arched windows on the second story. The roofs are slated, and the cellars water proof.

"The Market House in length is 535 feet, 9 inches; in width 50 feet, wholly built of granite, having a centre building $74\frac{1}{2}$ by 55 feet, projecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the North and South fronts. From the centre buildings are wings on each side, 173 by 50 feet.

The wing continues from a projection of 6 inches, 46 feet, 3 inches, and 51 feet in width, on each façade of which are 5 antæ, projecting 6 inches, finishing with a portico at each end of the building, projecting 11 feet 7½ inches. The porticos consist of four columns 3½ feet diameter at base, and 2 feet 10 inches at neck, each shaft is one piece 20 feet 9 inches long, with a capital of the Grecian Doric. The columns support a pediment, the tympanum of which has a circular window for ventilation.

"The wings are of two stories, the lower one 14 feet, the upper 14½ feet; the lower windows have circular heads.

"The building is finished with a Grecian cornice 16 inches in depth, and 21 inches projection, worked in granite.

"The roof is slated, and copper gutters.

"The height of the wings from the side walk to the top of the cornice is 31 feet.

"The façade of the centre building up to the under side of the second story windows, is composed of five recesses of piers and arches of grooved ashler, on top of which are again formed recesses by antæ, supporting a frieze and cornice, similar to the wing building; in each recess is a circular headed window, the centre a Venetian; on the top of the cornice is a blocking course, and an octagon attic, 6 feet high, with two elliptical sawtells, surmounted by a dome covered with copper, and crowned by a lantern light. At each angle on top of the centre building is a pedestal, in which are placed the necessary flues.

"The whole edifice is supported by a base of Quincy blue granite, 2 feet 10 inches high, with arched windows and doors communicating with the cellars.

"The building is approached by six steps, of easy ascent; each wing has six doors. The centre building is the north and south front; a pair of folding doors enter a passage ten feet wide, paved with brick, laid on ground arches; the wings have also a passageway of smaller dimensions to correspond.

"The principal entrances are from the east and west porticos which communicate with the corridor, 512 feet long, 12 feet wide, with entablatures finished with a cove ceiling. The interior is divided into 128 stalls, and occupied as follows, viz.: 14 for mutton, lamb, veal, and poultry; 2 for poultry and venison;



INTERIOR OF MARKET

19 for pork, lamb, butter, and poultry; 45 for beef; 4 for butter and cheese; 19 for vegetables; and 20 for fish.

"On the south front are four doorways opening to staircases, leading to the second story, in the centre of which is a hall 70 by 50 feet, having a dome springing from four segmental arches, ornamented with panels and rosettes, in the crown of which is an elliptical opening 14 by 12 feet, through which is seen the skylight and part of the outer dome. The whole height of the hall to the opening or eye of the dome is 46 feet. Each

wing is divided into two halls by a brick partition, the smaller hall being 44 by 47 feet, and the larger 173 by 47. The whole of the improvements have been completed within the space of twenty-six months and occupy about one acre, two perches, twenty-four rods, the greater part of which has been reclaimed from the sea by filling in earth at different periods.

"The space where Faneuil Hall Market stands was at one time a principal landing-place from the water."

The massive pillars which have been described were taken from a quarry in the town of Chelmsford and brought to Boston through the Middlesex Canal, whose waters came near to the market house.

On November 9 succeeding the opening of the market, Mayor Quincy made his final report, in which he said, "This noble improvement has been completed, not only without any addition to the present taxes or burden to the citizens, but also without the possibility of any addition in future time, on this account, to their taxes or burdens and on the contrary that it has augmented, in no inconsiderable degree the real and productive property of the city."

In a few years from the opening of Faneuil Hall Market, the hall over it was officially given the name of Quincy Hall. General consent has affixed the name of the mayor to the market, and it is commonly used at the present time.

The plan for closing the stalls under Faneuil Hall was opposed by the far-seeing Mayor Quincy, but his objections were overruled and in the summer of 1827 the space was divided into eight stores renting for \$4600 per annum, some of the principal occupants being Milton & Slocumb, clothiers; Bass, the hatter; and McErory, iron and hardware. In the year 1858 these were removed and the market was restored, hence the name New Faneuil Hall Market, which is so often erroneously applied to the market built by Mayor Quincy, and which to the casual observer seems to be out of place in its true application.

As the time for the opening of the market drew near, some of the business men who planned to lease stalls began to manifest a spirit of rivalry as to location in the new house, and in the true spirit of justice and fair play, those who were to occupy the stalls in Section Second held a meeting at Cushing & Carter's on August 11, 1826. They organized by choosing Samuel Langdon for moderator, William Hovey, secretary and treasurer. They voted to bid for the choice of stalls after the manner of an auction, and that the aggregate of the bonus paid be divided equally between the nineteen who were associated in the scheme.

The moderator, Samuel Langdon, was the auctioneer. The bidding resulted as follows:—

Luke Forbes	1st choice.	\$50.00.	Chose stall No. 20.
James Dugan	2d "	45.00.	" " " 24.
Frederick Weld	3d "	41.00.	" " " 23.
Eben Davis	4th "	32.00.	" " " 22.
Thomas Livermore	5th "	17.00.	" " " 27.
Benj. L. Sumner	6th "	28.50.	" " " 25.
Bordman Williams	7th "	19.00.	" " " 26.
O. M. Gale	8th "	18.00.	" " " 28.
Leonard Whiting	9th "	7.00.	" " " 18.
Joshua Horn	10th "	10.00.	" " " 19.
Thomas Hill	11th "	4.00.	" " " 31.
Samuel Gay	12th "	8.00.	" " " 21.
Jared Allen	13th "	4.00.	" " " 29.
William Hovey	14th "	6.50.	" " " 32.
George Phipps	15th "	3.50.	" " " 34.
F. J. Ripley	16th "	3.00.	" " " 36.
Nathan Robbins	17th "	0.50.	" " " 33.
Abel Babcock	18th "	0.50.	" " " 35.
Daniel Chamberlin	19th "	0.50.	" " " 30.

The aggregate of the sums was \$298; each man's share, \$15.15.

The records of this remarkable meeting are duly attested by William Hovey, secretary, who secured Stall No. 32, and were loaned to the author by Horatio A. and William H. Hovey of the

same stall. They are sons of William. Stall No. 32 has always been in the family since opened in 1826.

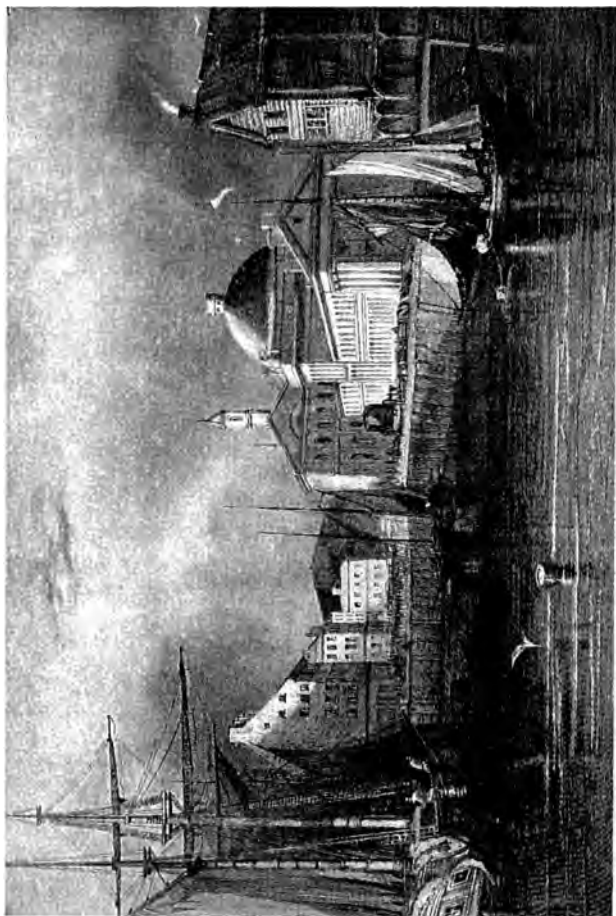
Stall No. 33, taken at the same time by Nathan Robbins, is now occupied by Olney Robbins, a grandson, who continues the family interest unbroken from the year 1826.

The lease was for the period of one year. It was a comprehensive document, in many respects like that of to-day. It was transferable upon the approval of the clerk. Many years passed before the popularity of the market was such as to make the stalls sufficiently desirable to warrant a party to pay a bounty for the transfer of a lease. The agreement to pay accrued rent was sufficient. But it was through perseverance in well-doing that the company of shrewd, far-sighted marketmen secured for the market a reputation that has been most helpful to them, individually and collectively. The city built the market house, but the stallkeepers built the market reputation, which may be fully realized when it appears that thousands of dollars are now paid for the privilege of occupying a stall.

This bounty, which is really the reward for years of faithful service, belongs, as it should, to the lessee of the stall, and when he resigns his rights he counts it his property.

But ambitious citizens, outside the market, have been loath to admit the right. A strenuous effort was made in the year 1854 to secure an act to have Faneuil Hall Market sold, the argument being "that it is a monopoly, and the city ought not to be connected with and be a party to a monopoly."

As often as the question of renewal of leases of the stalls comes before the city fathers, then also comes up the question of increase of rent, etc., but public sentiment, which is in favor of the marketmen, has its due weight, and a good percentage on the city's outlay is regarded as all that should be expected, in the light of the fact that it is the marketmen who have given it the creditable reputation which makes it a desirable place for buyer and seller.



FANEUIL HALL MARKET, FROM THE HARBOR, IN 1826.

Rents, at first, were collected once a week; but after the market became thoroughly established, monthly payments were demanded and readily paid.

Faneuil Hall Market is regarded as a model in its line of business, and is adopted as an example by other cities when endeavoring to solve the question of adjusting supply and demand.

There is no better authority on Faneuil Hall Market than Mr. George E. McKay, the efficient superintendent.

The mayor not long ago referred a letter to Mr. McKay which came from Albany, New York, asking for facts of the market; and the superintendent's reply contains the truths of to-day, which will of themselves suggest the progress of the years since the opening of seventy-three years ago:—

“In addition to the buildings, the streets around the market are by legislative enactment made free open markets for the sale of fresh provisions and vegetables under certain regulations. These two buildings and the streets surrounding them are known as Faneuil Hall Market, and are under the direct control of the city. Only those occupying the buildings pay a rental.

“Quincy Market (so called) is divided into 132 stalls, 22 basement cellars, and is occupied by 86 different firms. The market under Faneuil Hall is divided into 23 stalls and 11 basement cellars, and occupied by 34 different firms. The stalls are so divided that each is about 8 feet wide by 15 feet deep.

“The rent paid for the same varies according to location, being from \$350 to \$460 per year.

“No fees are collected from those who occupy stands in the streets. The market wagons are arranged in sections, leaving space between sections for wagoners to deliver goods to the market, and the farmers and producers are allowed to occupy such space behind their wagons, to display their goods, as will not interfere with teams getting in or out.

"The estimated value of Quincy Market (so-called) is \$1,000,000, and the city receives an income from the same of about \$71,000 in rents. The estimated value of Faneuil Hall building is \$294,000, and the city receives as rent from the portion used for market purposes about \$19,000.

"At the present time, and for the past three or four years, the sales of beef from wagons have not been so large as in previous years, owing to the large quantities of Western dressed beef which are brought to Boston. The small meats and farm products generally have not been affected, and on what are called the busy days, from sunrise to 8 or 9 o'clock A.M., there are found from 350 to 450 wagons with meats and farm products on the market limits.

"In addition to these there are a large number of producers living within a radius of seven to ten miles of the city, who bring their produce direct to dealers in the market.

"As to the inspection of goods it is intended that it shall be faithfully performed. The small amount which is condemned within the market limits, compared with the total receipts, as well as the observations of visitors from other cities, who are competent to form an opinion; warrant the statement that the efforts meet with general success, and are satisfactory to the public."

CHAPTER XVIII

Early Market Laws. Piepowder Court. The Market Official and his Duties. Succession of Market Clerks or Superintendents. George E. McKay appointed as Superintendent in 1877 by Mayor Prince.

"It is very suitable that the great market of New England should guard the cradle of our country's liberty." — HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, August 26, 1876.

THE market was an important institution of the mother country and was early recognized by the founders of Boston. The earliest records of a market in the Old World represent it as a place where law and order prevailed, to insure which there were officials whose word was law. The founders of Massachusetts brought with them the ancient common law of the market. This was to protect buyers and sellers alike; it protected the goods, regulated weights and measures, and settled disputes arising in the market. The court for settling these questions was called "market" or "piepowder" court, implying that it was conducted with few formalities, the parties at variance appearing there with dusty feet (*pieds poudreaux*). The courts where justice is administered without juries are the direct successors of the old piepowder court.

The official administering justice in Faneuil Hall Market was first known as clerk, but in later years as superintendent.

The early laws of the colony provided that "there shall be in every market town, and all other towns needful, one or two able persons annually chosen by each town who shall be sworn at the next county court, or by the magistrate, unto the faithful discharge of his office."

The settlers of Boston complied with the law, and in 1649 chose two of their number to be "clerks of the market."

Their duties were similar to those of the market clerks of England, where they were charged with the inspection of the markets, weights, measures, etc.

But as Boston soon had separate officials, known as scalers of weights and measures, it appears that the clerks of the market were relieved of this department. The duties left to them were, however, sufficiently onerous, requiring the exercise of good judgment and impartial dealing with their fellow-men.

They were by law to enter into all houses where bread was baked for sale and test the weight of a loaf, and they were also to weigh butter offered for sale.

If light weight was detected the dealers were warned, and a repetition of the crime brought punishment. The light weight materials were confiscated. To be faithful and impartial in this position required all the moral heroism credited to our pioneer ancestors. The first clerks of the market were Jeremy Houchin and James Penn. They served for two years. Their compensation was the fees allowed by law — "one-third part of all forfeit was for his pains, and the remainder going to the poor."

Jeremy Houchin lived at the southeast corner of Hanover and Court streets, the latter being called Sudbury Street, and the first street in the town with a recorded name. Houchin was a tanner and enjoyed special favors through market regulations.

The province laws required the clerks of the market to enter each house where bread was for sale as often as once a week and test the weight. As the assize of bread was continually changing, according to the price of flour, the clerk needed to be vigilant. The selectmen posted the price of flour once a month, and the weight of loaves was thereby regulated.

It is not surprising that frequent changes in this office took place, the same person serving but a short time.

A market is often spoken of in the records, but one requiring a



Charles F. McKim and John G. Thompson

even that was denied John Staniford, the second clerk, who asked for a "fire room." This superintendent received for his self-denial and services the small sum of £20 per annum.

The "clerks of the market" increased with the growth and extension of the town, each ward having one of these officials, but their duties were merely those of a police officer, looking after bakers, to see that they gave the regulation weight and measure. But the clerk assigned to Faneuil Hall Market was entrusted with the duties of a judge and jury, and to a limited extent that official has continued to exercise this authority, holding the "piepowder" court, through all the history of Faneuil Hall Market, thus relieving the municipal court of a much more crowded docket than it has ever had to absorb its time.

Isaac Dupee served for a series of years, and it was Abijah Adams who, as an interested official, stood by in 1761 and fought the flames until they thwarted all efforts, and all that could be consumed of the market was swept away.

He held over, without his salary, until the house was rebuilt, and in 1763 resumed duties in the new building. Soon after the reopening Mr. Adams was ordered to see that the butchers conformed to the terms of their leases in bringing a hide to the tanner to correspond with each carcass of beef offered for sale at the market.

The voters seemed to follow in the line of the old English common law as to restricting farmers to selling the products of their own farm within the market limits. They were not allowed to bring in any poultry, only that raised by themselves. But such restrictions were made upon the presumption of Puritan integrity, which had become somewhat adulterated, and only gave rise to troubles, resulting in early change.

The duties of the clerk of the market can best be appreciated when we consider the manner of collecting the rents in the pre-Revolutionary days. Mr. Adams was ordered to collect

eight shillings per month, or eight coppers per day, from each person who erected a stall or put his "panyers" (panniers) or carts within the limits of the market at west door. Each cart with beef or sauce that stood in any other place within the market limits was to pay five coppers per day, and each horse-back marketman should pay two coppers per day for a pair of panniers. And the official was ordered to exclude all marketmen who did not conform to the rules. In order that he might be vigilant, he was allowed one-fourth of all he collected of the butchers and country people in the way of fees, provided he paid the balance over to the town treasurer at the end of each week.

But these rules were sure to bring ruin to the market enterprise, and the market clerk, being human, was soon reported too ill to perform the duties, when Benjamin Clark came into power. His was a term of unrest on all sides. In addition to his ordinary duties, he had the officers of the king's army to appease when they came with complaints of discourteous treatment from the stallkeepers.

While trying to keep peace with all, he was an avowed patriot, and ventured to leave his post on the afternoon of the memorable 16th of December, 1773, and was among the company who converted Boston harbor into a teapot.

So scarce were provisions during the siege that there was little or no effort to enforce market rules. But on June 5, 1776, following the evacuation, there was a committee chosen to regulate the market, and George Lindsay Wallace was made clerk.

In September, 1776, leases were given of stalls, and new men appeared ready to begin business. It was not long before forestalling made its appearance again. The farmer believed he was underpaid, while the consumer maintained that prices were exorbitant, and both found fault with the middleman who mediated between buyer and seller and took a percentage of profit

for his services. The clerk was powerless, and the aid of the General Court was invoked to put a stop to the "brutish conduct."

Mr. Wallace stood in the gap through all this trying period, having as his compensation £7 10s. specie per quarter. At his death, Mr. Matthew Nazro, who had been employed to warn strangers from town, was placed in the position and ordered to demand and collect all that was due from each stallkeeper. He was succeeded by William Gooch, who served several years. He was ordered to collect the rents and turn them over to the treasurer once a month or vacate the office.

The demand for stalls under Faneuil Hall, or space in the shambles, was so great that in 1791 sealed proposals for hiring were received, and objectionable parties were rejected. The rents were collected weekly, and Mr. Nathaniel Merriam was chosen in 1815. Merriam was kept busy signing his name to the little bills of "one dollar and fifty cents," as "clerk of Faneuil Hall Market."

The rapid growth of the town occasioned an increasing demand for market room, and all sorts of plans were devised for the relief of the congested market quarters. It was impossible for any market official to deal justly by all parties touched by his authority. With the adoption of a city charter and abolishing of town government, there came the enterprise of Mayor Quincy and the building of the long market, which was opened in August, 1826. Caleb Hayward was superintendent, but was still called clerk. Although for a time all of the stalls were not occupied, yet, as rents were collected weekly, he was kept busy, for the new market must be kept scrupulously clean and new rules must be obeyed.

He was succeeded by Mr. Nourse, who was followed by Mr. Rhodes. He is remembered as an official who appreciated his situation and acted well his part in making the great enterprise a success. It was during his term of office that President Polk

visited Boston. He, of course, was taken to Faneuil Hall, and while in Dock Square had his attention directed to the market, an especial object of pride to the young city.

The clerk, Mr. Rhodes, received the visiting party at the door and walked in front down the market corridor, announcing in stentorian tones, "Make way, gentlemen, for the President of the United States! The President of the United States! Fellow-citizens, make room!" The chief, meanwhile, had stepped into a stall to look at some attractive game, leaving the consequential official walking alone. Presently Mr. Rhodes turned around, and seeing the situation, exclaimed, "My gracious, where has the d——d fool gone?"

Charles B. Rice, appointed in 1852, was next in order, and had a quarter of a century of service. Among his official duties was that of inspector of provisions, which of itself was a most arduous task when the entire meat supply was furnished by the butchers who slaughtered their cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry within a few miles of Boston.

This stock was brought to the market in wagons, which were backed up to the market, making most busy hours. Various devices were resorted to for relief of the market section. The old plan of collecting from marketmen a fee for the use of a stand was revived, but the country people rebelled and the Supreme Court was invoked in their behalf, the decision being handed down that, according to early agreements, the market space must be open for the free use of the country people, for whose benefit it had long before been set apart.

Many of the present marketmen will remember when no team was allowed to enter the market section until a specified hour, when scores and hundreds of teams that had stood outside were rushed in and great confusion ensued.

Another experiment was tried. It was equally as injurious to the market as uncomfortable to the farmers. The teams were all ordered to a place well known as "the dumps," where

they were to await the coming of customers. But at length all of these experiments failed, and the freedom now enjoyed was the boon of the marketmen.

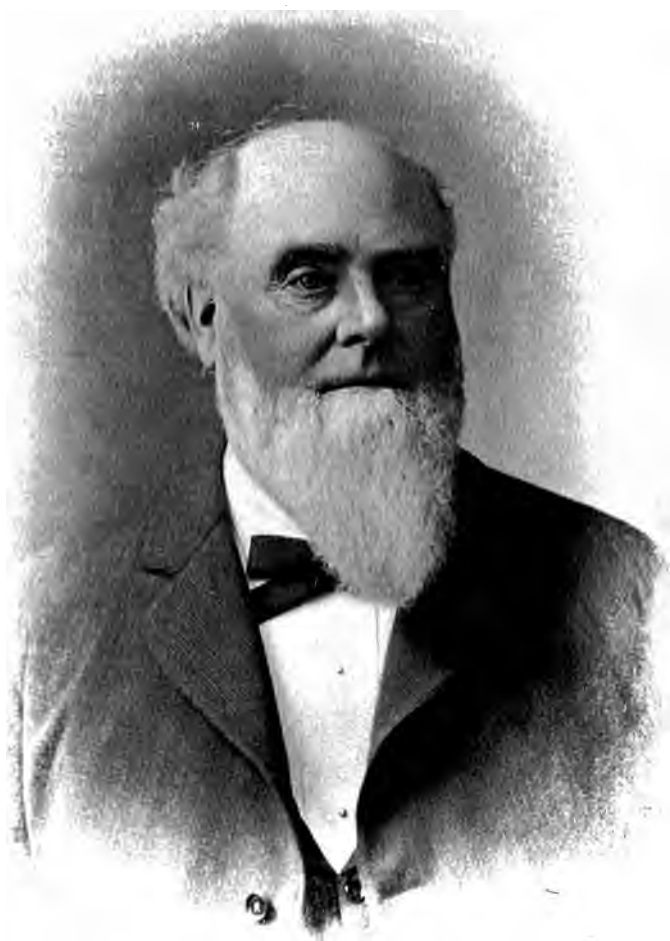
Through all these changes, the superintendent, knowing his power, did not fail to exercise it, and by long continuance in the position, assumed, perhaps unconsciously, the rôle of an autocrat of the market. At length, in 1877, when there was a change in the politics of the city government, there came an effort to have a change in the market.

A majority of the holders of market leases petitioned for the continuance of Mr. Rice, while a minority of persistent men filed a petition for the appointment of a new man. Mr. George E. McKay was brought forward and strongly indorsed by Hon. Richard Frothingham, who saw in the candidate just the qualities for the position. The party feeling ran high, and the market committee of the city decided to grant a hearing to the marketmen.

The majority, representing a large per cent of the business, urged their claims and asked for the continuance of Mr. Rice; but the minority came on, like David with his sling, and downed the Goliath.

The movements of that minority constitute one of the memorable occasions of the market history. They formed in line, agreeable to concerted action, and marched up to the city hall, where they were courteously received. One after another, accustomed to the rostrum as well as the market, stepped out and gave his reasons in support of the petition for the change, and at last one of the younger stallkeepers — known as "the boy" — Mr. Frank Crosby — timidly but unflinchingly stepped forward and applied his logic; it was terse and convincing, although embellished by no rhetorical flourishes.

He had been trained in argument in the little red schoolhouse of the town of Bedford, and did credit to his youthful instruction in the district school. The decision was in favor of the



George E. McKay
Supt. of Markets

minority, and Mr. McKay was installed in office as superintendent of Faneuil Hall Market in April, 1877. He gave a bond for \$10,000, with Thomas B. Harris and Everett Torrey as sureties.

George Edward McKay, son of George McKay and Jane Phillips, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, January 26, 1841. He was endowed with the prestige of the best of Scotch blood, and was educated in the local schools of his native city. After leaving the high school, he found employment as clerk in a tailoring establishment. He continued in this service until he had acquired sufficient insight into the business to enter it for himself. In 1867 he joined with Mr. McDonald in organizing the firm of McDonald & McKay, which continued in a prosperous manner until 1872, when the former retired from business, and Mr. McKay followed the business until 1877, when he was appointed superintendent of



McKAY BADGE

Faneuil Hall Market by Mayor Prince, and has had each successive appointment to the present time, 1900.

Mr. McKay is affiliated with many organizations. He is a Past Grand of Howard Lodge, I.O.O.F., of Charlestown; Past Master of Henry Price Lodge, F. and A.M.; a member of Signet Royal Arch Chapter of Masons; Cœur de Lion Commandery, Knights Templars; Paul Revere Lodge, Knights of Honor; Veteran Odd Fellows' Association of Massachusetts; National Lancers of Boston; Boston Club; and Bay State Riding and Driving Club of Watertown.

He was young and inexperienced in market business when he entered the service of the city of Boston, and had a majority against the change, although not personally prejudiced against him. Having a keen discernment of human nature and becoming familiar with the laws which he was sworn to uphold, he started with the determination to deal justly by all. One of the veterans of the market was soon detected in violation of a market law by smoking a cigar in front of his stall. The young superintendent, fearless but gentlemanly, remonstrated with the offender, who was inclined to vindicate himself, but, persistent in the right, Mr. McKay conquered this man and all other opponents.

On the first anniversary of his election, 1878, this young superintendent was called into Faneuil Hall and there confronted by the stallkeepers and expressmen. The former presented him a gold badge and the latter a gold-headed cane. On the badge is read:—

Superintendent of Faneuil Hall
Market,
City of Boston
Police.
Faneuil Hall Inspectors.

On the reverse side :—

GEORGE E. MCKAY, Esq.,
From
Occupants of the Market,
March 11, 1878.

On the cane is inscribed the fact of the gift from "a few of the expressmen."

The presentation address was by J. Herman Curtis, who had been strongly opposed to the change, but who said in his felicitous address: "Within sixty days after your appointment I became convinced that in appointing you the mayor had filled the bill to a T."

Mr. Curtis further said: "I have been under all the administrations and have had experience with all your predecessors, and I say to you that I never knew a more faithful, able, and gentlemanly superintendent than yourself, and particularly one who could say no without giving offence."

In response to these memorable words the superintendent gave utterance to his gratitude in language that revealed the scholarly gentleman which he has ever proved himself to be.

By the friendly feeling known to exist between stallkeepers, marketmen, and superintendent, we may safely infer that the sentiments expressed on that first anniversary are repeated with increased emphasis, now that George E. McKay has attained his majority as superintendent; and we doubt if the city of Boston has a more faithful servant than the genial man who has served in this important capacity for more than twenty-two years. All admit that he has done much to establish the enviable reputation which is accorded to Faneuil Hall Market abroad, where his methods and manners are quoted as examples for well-regulated markets.

Scarcely a day passes that this market official is not called upon to pass judgment upon questions of right arising between buyer and seller, and his decisions are received as just and final.

As a faithful teacher becomes endeared to his pupils, or the captain of a military company to his men, so this superintendent has formed a strong attachment for each and all of the stallkeepers. He says: "While as city tenants we have never formed any political alliances, and charitable organizations do not exist

among us, yet the marketmen abound in deeds of charity and expressions of sympathy."

The marketman's heart and hand are closely allied. Is one of that number in trouble or sorrow, all are touched. Does one fall out by the way, his family receive their kindly ministrations. Is the city called upon to send relief to some city or town in distress, the marketmen are quick to respond.

The great Chicago fire called out from them a purse of nearly \$7000. Boston's relief to the distressed city of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1886, contained from the market a purse of \$2842. In the following year the Jacksonville, Florida, sufferers received from the market the sum of \$1146. In 1894 the marketmen contributed to the unemployed of Boston a purse of \$1713. A Thanksgiving offering is made annually to the Soldiers' Home at Chelsea, when everything for a good old-fashioned New England Thanksgiving dinner is contributed in old-fashioned quantities, so that the guests may "cut and come again for more than a week." Surely superintendent and marketmen are examples for the emulation of the people.

CHAPTER XIX

The Market and Boston's Days of Celebration. Reception to President Washington in 1789. The Introduction of Water in 1848. Semi-centennial of Opening of Faneuil Hall Market, 1876.

FANEUIL HALL MARKET has been represented in Boston's great celebrations, the stallkeepers being conspicuous in the processions. When the first President of the United States visited the town in October, 1789, he was given a great reception, a prominent feature of the civic department being the representation of the various industries and institutions of learning, there being fifty of them, each bearing its own banner. The manufactures, in which Washington took marked interest, were individually represented. In the educational section appeared Schoolmaster Oliver W. Lane with his pupils, each carrying a large goose-quill. Oliver Holden, the sweet singer, was there with his trained choir, who sang to the honor of the President:

"Great Washington the hero's come,
Each heart exulting hears the sound,
See ! thousands their deliverer throng,
And shout him welcome all around."

The stallkeepers of Faneuil Hall Market had their place, as the procession made its way through the town, while demonstrations of joy were manifest on all sides.

Faneuil Hall was of interest to Washington. He was escorted to the building when on his first visit to Boston in

1756, by Governor William Shirley, who was proud of the benevolent act of his lamented friend, Peter Faneuil.

When entering Boston, after the evacuation in March, 1776, the commander-in-chief of the Continental army was peculiarly grateful to find that Faneuil Hall had not been more seriously damaged by the King's army.

The water celebration of 1848 was one in which the marketmen were deeply interested. While the market house afforded many conveniences for business, it was lacking in an adequate water supply, because the city was deficient in this particular. The "living fountains," which the Indian name "Shawmut" signifies, were not sufficient for a large population. The old wooden pumps,¹ with iron handles, located at either side and at the lower end of the market house, were continually in use, but the water for all purposes in the market was carried by hand in buckets, and frequently the stallkeepers were obliged to go down to Long Wharf for extra supply. The sanitary accommodations, furthermore, were of the most primitive nature. An attempt was made in 1795 to provide water for the town by introducing a supply from Jamaica Pond in Roxbury, and the Aqueduct Company was formed for that purpose.

This was helpful to many parts of the town, but the pine-log pipes were insufficient conductors, and the supply was inadequate. Mayor Quincy, in his inaugural address of 1826, urged that Boston spring water was injurious to general health. At length, in 1848, the water of Long Pond, or Lake Cochituate, in Framingham and Natick, was introduced into the city,

¹ It may be reasonably inferred that one of these wells was that which, after much discussion, was ordered to be dug in Dock Square and fitted with a pump during the summer of 1774. (See town records.)

The *Boston Gazette* of 1767 urged Boston people to seek for pure water at Newtown, where a mineral spring had been discovered, and where accommodations for board and bathing had been provided. A public conveyance to and from Boston was also provided at reasonable rates.

and the twenty-fifth day of October, 1848, was one memorable in the history of the city, and in the annals of Faneuil Hall Market. Just as the sun was setting, and in the presence of thousands of citizens who had gathered on the Common, Mayor Josiah Quincy turned a stopcock near the fountain in the Frog Pond, and formally introduced "Aqueduct" water into Boston. It was a day of general rejoicing, and was devoted to parades, music, feasting, and congratulations, for it was the culmination of years of earnest service on the part of the promoters of the system.

The parade was participated in by representatives of every trade in the city: the Masonic and other civic bodies, the entire State militia, and the sailors in port. Conspicuous in the trades' procession was the delegation from Faneuil Hall Market, composed of two hundred marketmen attired in white linen frocks, and accompanied by the famous Dodworth Band of New York. Of these two hundred men, five survived at the semi-centennial of the celebration, and at the time of writing, these veterans are: Samuel D. Skilton of Charlestown, who occupied Stall 24 in Faneuil Hall Market; Horatio Hovey of Cambridge, who occupied Stall 32; Samuel S. Learnard of Brighton, of Stalls 50 and 52; and Mr. Stacy Hall of the firm of Hall & Cole.

The marketmen's own celebration was that of the semi-centennial of the opening of Faneuil Hall Market, August 26, 1876 (the year when the whole country was engaged in a grand celebration in Philadelphia). This was planned and executed by the men of the stalls, and for brilliancy of design with success of execution stands in the history of Boston as one of the most creditable occasions.

The Committee of Arrangements consisted of J. V. Fletcher, chairman; George E. Tinkham, secretary; N. Brimbecom, W. H. H. Furber, Henry Farnum, L. B. Hiscock, Increase E. Noyes, S. F. Woodbridge, Stacy Hall, D. E. Butterfield, Free-

man J. Doe, John P. Squire, H. L. Lawrence, George H. Philbrook, Ira Hiland, A. H. Jones, C. E. Morrison, L. D. Jackson, S. S. Learnard, Winsor Gleason, D. G. Hartwell, Samuel B. Krogman.

Faneuil Hall Square presented a brilliant appearance on the day of the celebration; between the market and Faneuil Hall was a display of flags of different nations, while the American ensign nearly covered the fronts of the two buildings, and floated from the staff above the time-honored "golden grasshopper." The interior of the market was profusely decorated with flags, bunting, the arms of the several States of the Union, shields, masonic devices and emblems. The Stars and Stripes hung suspended above the entrance-way of each stall, "as if the nation's honor was the first concern of the marketmen." Faneuil Hall, where the banquet was given, was made brilliant with the emblems of the nation and of freedom.

Invitations were extended to many noted people, who cheerfully responded, recognizing the happy combination of patriotism and provisions that signalized the occasion. At three o'clock the holders of tickets assembled in South Market Street, to the number of four hundred, and formed in procession, with Brown's Band at the head, under Chief Marshal Dunbar, his aids and assistants. The four veterans, those who remained of the first occupants of the market house, constituted the first division. They were the recipients of special honors, being presented with ebony canes having gold heads and suitably inscribed :—

"Presented to ————, by the occupants of Faneuil Hall Market, Boston, August 26, 1876."

The honored four were J. Herman Curtis, Harrison Bird, Ebenezer Holden, Nathan Robbins; each received an accompanying letter of tender expression from the secretary, George H. Tinkham, in behalf of the marketmen.



MAYOR COBB AND FOUR ORIGINAL OCCUPANTS OF FANEUIL HALL MARKET ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY, AUGUST 26, 1876

After the presentation the company was photographed by J. W. Black, and then passed into the hall, and to the bountifully spread tables. The chaplain of the day, Rev. Warren H. Cudworth, invoked the divine blessing upon the occasion and the assembled company.

The after-dinner remarks were happily conducted by the president of the day, who reminded the company that of the large number of occupants of the market at the opening in 1826, but seven were living, and only four of them remained in active service.

In the absence of his Honor the Mayor, Samuel C. Cobb, the first speaker was Hon. Josiah Quincy, who, with many happy expressions, said: "Out of the past come voices which seem to me to say: 'Have confidence in yourselves; confidence in the future of the noble city for which in our day we did what we could.' This faith was shown by the conduct of those who endowed the city with this market. And in that day, when there was no betterment law, it required some faith to extend and widen streets, and in other ways to prepare for the coming times. When this market arose, as it were, out of the mud, there was not a railway on the land nor a steamship on the ocean. Our back country extended some forty miles into the interior, or a little farther, perhaps, in the winter, when the sleighing was good.

"The second mayor, to whom allusion has been made, was once asked upon what he rested his faith in the future of Boston at a time when circumstances were far from encouraging. He replied, 'Upon the character of her citizens; with the sagacity, enterprise, and capital that they possess, a city could be built anywhere.'"

His Excellency the Governor, Alexander H. Rice, in a felicitous speech, said, "If early fortune had left him his choice he thought he should have chosen above all other things to be a Faneuil Hall marketman," and in speaking of the second

mayor, Josiah Quincy, he said, "All that is illustrious and sagacious as a magistrate, all that is profound as a scholar, all that is patriotic as a self-denying citizen and wise as a statesman, all that is sagacious and prudent in a business man, he possessed in the highest degree."

Alderman John T. Clark, in the absence of the mayor, represented the city. He eloquently pointed out how the prophetic language of the elder Quincy had been verified — "a proud memorial of the public spirit and unanimity of the city council and of the liberality of their fellow-citizens, an ornament to the city, a convenience to its inhabitants, a blessing to the poor, an accommodation to the rich, and an object of pleasure to the whole community."

Others who followed were Curtis Guild, George B. Loring, S. B. Finney, Nathaniel Childs, in verse, Rev. W. H. Cudworth and Rev. J. M. Atwood, Rev. E. W. Gibbs, J. B. D. Coggsell, and the veterans of the market. The whole concluding with the singing of a verse of "Auld Lang Syne."

CHAPTER XX

Faneuil Hall and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

"The Natives trembled when they saw them train, and old as well as young stood still and revered them as they passed along in martial order."

—DOCTOR COLMAN in 1738.

BOSTON'S ancient military organization early found shelter in Faneuil Hall. Robert Keayne, a prominent merchant and somewhat eccentric citizen of the town, was the leading charter member of the Company in 1638, and by his will, probated in May, 1656, he gave a legacy to the town of £300 for a town house in which there should be an armory for the benefit of "That noble Society of the Artillery Company." Keayne's legacy was applied toward the expense of building the town house in 1657-1658. In this structure at the head of King (State) Street, through its various changes, the Company had their armory for nearly a century. The town, through accepting Keayne's legacy, was under obligations to make provision for the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; hence, after the acceptance of Peter Faneuil's gift as a town house, arrangements were made for the Company in Faneuil Hall, and in April, 1746, it appears that the organization held a meeting there, but it was several years before they seem to have recognized it as their armory; and very soon after they were fully settled there they were driven from it by the fire of 1761. Upon returning to Faneuil Hall in 1762, the Company took measures to preserve their dignity and honor through adopting certain

rules and regulations, one of which was that the governor and council be invited on the anniversary when the officers were elected, and that there be an entertainment in Faneuil Hall, and the expenses be divided between the commissioned officers. The entertainment for the inner man was very simple, consisting of "punch, wine, and bread and nothing more." It was carefully stated that pipes and tobacco be excluded, and that the company and guests be dismissed in time so as to prevent the expense of candles. But such frugality did not continue long; the early Boston appetite called for a more elaborate bill of fare. In 1763 cheese was allowed, and it was recorded in the *News Letter* that "a plentiful repast was given by the newly elected officers, at Faneuil Hall where many healths were drank." The first Monday of June was the day for the annual election and the formalities that accompanied it, which, with but slight alterations, have been continued to the present time. At early morn the fife and drum are heard in the streets of Boston, as the officers for that purpose go about to the residences of the members of the Company, and thereby give the familiar summons for them to meet at Faneuil Hall. The company, passing out of the hall, form in line in South Market Street, pass up State, Washington, and School streets and over to the State House, where they receive the governor and other guests, whom they escort to a church, and then they give attention to a sermon¹ and musical programme; from the church, the Company escort their guests to Faneuil Hall, where there is a reception, and dinner follows. Thirteen toasts are offered and duly recognized. During the speaking the governor leaves the hall and returns to the State House, where he is later received by the Company and escorted to the Common, and the formality of change of officials is com-

¹ This sermon was preached in the First Church, Chauncy Street, for many years. After 1867 the Hollis Street Church was frequently resorted to, and on June 1, 1885, they assembled in the Old South Church on Boylston Street, where they still continue to listen to the annual sermon.

pleted. The governor is escorted back to the State House, and the Company returns to Faneuil Hall and feasts upon the fragments of the dinner.

The *Boston Gazette* of 1764, in reporting the election ceremonies, says, "In the evening there was a genteel entertainment at Faneuil Hall provided by the newly elected officers."

The political sentiment of the times is easily detected by reviewing the records of the Company, as they have held their meetings in this historical building. In 1767 it is recorded that "Many loyal healths were drank." For several years immediately preceding the hostile opening of the Revolution, the Company had frequent meetings in Faneuil Hall for exercise; and in the spring of 1774, preceding the regular May training, they exercised each Friday evening, but they seem not to have been there after the Port Bill went into effect, until 1786. While the Company entire was not found in the provincial army, many of the individual members were in the service of the country. In fact, the Artillery Company has not been intended for the field; but its object has been to foster the military spirit through keeping together those who have done valiant service, extend the hand of sympathy and preserve in unbroken succession an honored institution brought from the homes beyond the sea and transplanted in New England by Robert Keayne, together with three associates. In the autumn of 1786, when there was political unrest in the State and Shays's rebellion took place, the Honorable Artillery Company was called together in Faneuil Hall, "every member to appear compleat, with twenty-five rounds of powder and ball, with every equipment necessary to compleat a soldier for immediate service." The next occasion when the Ancients were ordered to be in readiness for duty was during the second war with England. On September 10, 1814, Captain William Howe issued the following order: "It becomes the duty of every man at this moment of danger to know his post, and repair to it on the first alarm, whether by

night or day. The members of this company, not in commission in the Militia, will, therefore, on the alarm being given, repair to their armory in Faneuil Hall and there wait further orders."

On the annual election day of 1787 the annalist records, "Finished the day with those pleasing sensations which friendship, good humor, and conviviality inspire." He also adds, "At dinner the corps were honored with the company of the honorable French and Dutch consuls, several of the reverend clergy, and a large number of respectable gentlemen."

The election day sermon and the presence of the governor and council are a following out of the custom of the "Ancients" in London, where the lord mayor and aldermen of the city have been annually invited to the exercises from a time as far back as the days of Cromwell.

On June 2, 1788, the sesqui-centennial of the Company was observed with ceremony in keeping with the day. The sermon was by Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford — "a sensible and well-adapted sermon." The report of the day's proceedings was quite like that of a century later, and the floral decorations of the Hall seem to have been a prominent feature and to have had national significance. At the entrance of Faneuil Hall was seen an arch hung with fragrant flowers, bearing on the keystone the suggestive words, "Incorporated 1638."

"At the head of the hall were seven pillars of wreaths, decorated with flowers, emblematic of the seven States that had then adopted the Federal Constitution; on the keystone of the arches were painted in large characters the names of the States, and behind them were fixed figures, almost as large as life, representing their Excellencies, the presidents of the Federal and Massachusetts conventions. The beautiful arrangements and symmetry of these decorations excited the astonishment and admiration of the Company as well as numerous spectators. The fragrance of the flowers and music of an excellent band added great zest to the entertainment."

The thirteen toasts, which doubtless became a custom of the Company on that occasion, were suggestive of the political situation, and were as follows :—

1. The Governor and Commonwealth.
2. The United States.
3. The States which have adopted the Constitution.
4. Speedy completion of the federal edifice.
5. Louis XVI., our illustrious Ally, and the friendly powers of Europe.
6. The Day.
7. General Washington.
8. The Militia of Massachusetts.
9. May our citizens prize the honor of being soldiers, and our sailors never forget that they are citizens.
10. Our illustrious ancestors who first laid the foundation of military knowledge in America by the institution of this Company.
11. May benevolence and peace so far influence the citizens of the world that the implements of war may with safety be converted into tools of husbandry.
12. The President and University in Cambridge.
13. Freedom and Peace to all mankind.

The election of 1790 was one of great interest. It was the first after the adoption of the Federal Constitution and choice of the first President of the United States. The Ancients had, as their guests, in addition to Governor John Hancock and council, the consuls of France, Holland, and Sweden, with many noted men in civic life. Faneuil Hall again became the admiration of the lover of floral beauty. "The entrance formed an arch, supporting the orchestra, where the band performed during the dinner. At the head of the hall was a grand arch, from the keystone of which hung a golden fleur-de-lis. In the rear of this, in the centre window, was placed an obelisk, finely executed by Mr. Johnson. The base was formed by a bust of

the President of the United States, encircled with a glory and the inscription: 'The lustre of his actions shines with triumphant brightness, and spreads a glory around him.' Over this at the top of the obelisk was an all-seeing eye with the inscription, 'I protect the faithful.' Above this was a winged cherub represented as crowning the President with a chaplet of laurel."

The decorations at the dinner on each succeeding election day were of great interest, and especially in 1800, when the death of Washington was remembered, also the death of Governor Sumner and Lieutenant-governor Gill. On this occasion Stuart's portrait of Washington was encircled by sixteen hearts, which bore in gold letters, "We are one, and Washington, that friend of mankind, lives within us."

"By virtue he acquired glory, and glory gained him immortality."

"He shines neither with false nor borrowed light."

The sides of the hall were made to represent a full armory of firelocks. The two brass pieces of artillery, "Hancock and Adams," were also in place.

In the year 1803 the chamber over Faneuil Hall was fitted for an armory, but it was soon decided that the hall must be enlarged, and the Company held their last meeting in the old quarters at the June election in 1805. They were, however, in attendance in February, 1806, when the agents for superintending the enlargement gave "a raising supper to the artisans and workmen, fathers of the town and others." The hall was completed so that the Company held its annual election dinner there in June, 1806. The two hundredth anniversary of the Company was observed in 1838, when Governor Edward Everett was their guest, and the occasion was one long to be remembered. In 1853 the city council granted \$300 for fitting up the new armory for "The Ancients." For many years, the rooms in the upper hall were occupied by the companies of the Boston regiment militia and the Honorable Artillery Company as

armories, and the large hall was used in common; but at length the latter organization was left alone, where it remained until obliged to vacate in preparation for the rebuilding of 1898-1899. The needs of this Company — the oldest military organization on the continent of America — were fully considered in the plans for rebuilding; and the newly fitted fire-proof Faneuil Hall affords an apartment in compliance with a condition of the will of Robert Keayne of 1656 — "That there be a room in the very heart and securest part of the town for a magazine for arms, where they can scour and tend the arms, and lay them up and keep them, which will be a comely sight for strangers to see and a great ornament to the room and also of the town where the soldiers may arm themselves every time they go to exercise."

The new hall for this Company was made 77 feet long and 48½ feet wide, having on either side ample room for offices and other purposes. The most impressive of the office rooms is that directly under the dome. It was formerly the quarters of the old city guard, but had been long abandoned because of the sagging of the timbers, and danger that seemed to threaten in that locality. The Company expended a large sum of money in fitting their apartments, in addition to the liberal sum appropriated by the city. The walls of the main room are tinted with colors in oil, and ornamented with a frieze which combines the arms of the Commonwealth with those of the Company. In the ceiling are a series of decorative circles in which are placed the names of the charter members of the Artillery Company.

Prominent among the memorials of the organization are eighteen silk flags, exact copies of colonial colors and those which have followed the original. They have also their tattered, time-worn banners, which include the oldest flag in existence, that carried in the Company in 1663.

The military museum is divided into American and London

rooms, the latter containing the mementos of the visit to Windsor and Marlborough House, and also the entertainment of the Ancients by the Honourable Artillery Company of London.

On the walls are the portraits of one hundred and fourteen captains of the Company. These serve to recall many noted families of the colonial and provincial period, as well as of the years of constitutional government.

One room is devoted to the Slade collection of the Edwin Forbes etchings, consisting of forty scenes of the Civil War. These, with many other pictures and ornaments, were given to the Company by Charles W. Slade, who was a prominent member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

The uniform of the Company when first appearing in Faneuil Hall consisted of a black hat, three-cornered and cocked, and bound with white lace: scarlet waistcoat and breeches, with gaiters and white cravat; buff belts and buff pouches. The drummers wore buff coats faced with scarlet. Many changes have been made in the uniform, but it has ever been such as to give a dignified and interesting appearance to the Company when on parade.

The Company numbered about eight hundred in 1899, about five hundred of them being seen in the annual parade. The Honourable Artillery Company takes pride in being the oldest institution, except the Christian Church, on this continent. Its association with Faneuil Hall adds to the historical interest of that time-honored building, and links together the names of Boston's early benefactors, Robert Keayne and Peter Faneuil.



FANEUIL HALL TO-DAY.

CHAPTER XXI

The Custodians of Faneuil Hall. The Market House Investment. Progress in Marketing in the Various Departments.

THE intention of Peter Faneuil to give a hall for the benefit of the citizens of Boston has been faithfully carried out. The selectmen were the custodians as long as the town form of government continued. An application for the use of the hall was always granted, unless it appeared that the purpose for which it was wanted was contrary to the spirit of the gift. We have seen that the hall was refused at times, for obvious reasons, during the Revolution, but law-abiding citizens, regardless of sect or nationality, have enjoyed their rights of its free use. By a condition of the city charter of 1822, the hall cannot be rented, and the old rules for governing the use of it have been observed. There is, however, a nominal fee required in order to defray the running expenses.

Any citizen of Boston desiring the use of the hall for a definite time makes application to the board of aldermen, who refer it to the Faneuil Hall committee, consisting of five of their number. This committee passes favorably upon the petition, if no one has a previous claim upon the date, and the signature of the mayor assures the applicant that his petition is granted. Dates are often fixed months in advance, but it is apparent to the close observer that favoritism has no influence, the citizens' hall being for the citizens, and first come is the first served.

Although large sums of money have been expended to perpet-

uate Faneuil Hall, the appropriations have never been made as an investment. But in the management of the market, closely allied with the hall, the circumstances have been different. Stalls have always been rented to individuals for the purpose of conducting business for personal advantage, hence a reasonable rent has been exacted.

It is evident that Mayor Josiah Quincy had the convenience of the people in mind when he extended the market accommodations by the erection of the granite edifice in 1826, but he was also confident that the outlay made would be a profitable investment, in proof of which we give the following financial statement, taken from the address of Mayor Matthews to the city government, upon the occasion of his retirement from the office in 1895. "This undertaking, begun during the elder Quincy's administration, had paid for itself by 1848, and has since yielded an aggregate profit above all expenses of nearly \$3,000,000. The summary of the accounts may be stated as follows:—

	Principal	Income	Totals
Payments . . .	\$1,240,280	\$ 969,316	\$2,209,596
Receipts . . .	1,178,753	3,888,877	5,067,631
	—\$61,527	+\$2,919,561	+\$2,858,034

"The property now consists of 27,000 square feet of land, assessed at \$822,000, and of a building assessed at \$300,000, making the total assessed value of the estate \$1,122,000. The annual income exceeds the annual expenditure by about \$57,000, which is a little over five per cent on the assessor's valuation.

"Taking the loss in tax receipts, due to its ownership by the city, into account, the net profit to the city amounts to about three and three-quarters per cent per annum. This is less than the average return from private investments in land, yet it will hardly be denied that an undertaking which paid for itself in twenty years, which has since yielded and is still bringing in a net revenue of nearly \$60,000 a year, and which fur-



Thomas W. Hoar

nished public accommodations of great value, has been a success, regarded from the standpoint of a municipal investment."

If the profits since 1895 are added to the above totals, the net result is about \$3,000,000. The annual gross revenue from the market house during the first five years of its existence averaged \$23,220, the next ten years \$24,380, and the last ten about \$72,000. The annual expense is now about \$9000. The 132 stalls rent for \$42,900; the forty-four half-cellar, or basements, for \$22,460; Quincy Hall for \$3500; the Produce Exchange for \$1800; outside stalls \$1400; rooms over the market, \$447; and the weighing fees are about \$500. The largest income ever obtained in one year was in 1875, when the receipts were \$93,189.

The stalls are in charge of the superintendent of markets, and leases are made only upon his approval and by the signature of the mayor. They are for a period of five years, and can be transferred by the same authority which granted them.

The mayor who approved leases at the time of the completion of this volume was Thomas N. Hart, who served in 1889 and 1890, and was elected to serve in 1900 and 1901.

The character of the trade at the market has gradually changed from retail to wholesale, being occasioned by the opening of the many provision stores in the city, near the market, as well as in all parts of the city, and also to the change in population of the North End. Drummers representing the marketmen may be met in other cities in New England, and the stallkeepers have customers scattered throughout distant sections of the country; and in fact they ship food supplies to the islands near our coast, and to the British Islands, Liverpool and London having supplies from Boston market.

The market is the actual centre of a great combination of wholesale and retail traders, that has grown up during the past seventy-five years within its immediate vicinity. In the market, or near it, one can purchase a pound or a hundred quarters of

beef; a pound of sausage or a thousand of dressed hogs; a peck or a thousand barrels of apples; a pound or a ton of butter; a dozen of oranges or a hundred boxes; a pound or a cargo of fish, fresh or salted; in fact, all and everything required for our sustenance can be secured, in large or small quantities.

This has been made possible by modern appliances for cold storage. The ice which was once regarded as a priceless boon has been largely superseded by the adoption of the mechanical process, whereby much more satisfactory results are obtained. The cold current is generated and as silently distributed through the storehouses as is the electric current, and made to serve the public as effectually. When the mercury ranges at summer heat in the market house, the temperature of grim winter is holding sway in the individual boxes and great storehouses.

Quincy Market Cold Storage Company was incorporated in 1882, having a capital of \$800,000. Its officers are J. Varnum Fletcher, president; Henry. F. Ross, vice-president; James C. Melvin, treasurer. The process is that of expansion by means of cold brine.

The Eastern Cold Storage Company was incorporated in Massachusetts in 1898, having previously existed as a Maine company for two and a half years. Their capital is \$250,000. Its officers are Walter L. Hill, president; J. Frank Kimball, vice-president; Francis Batchelder, treasurer. The process used is that of direct expansion.

INDEX

- Adams, Abijah, 192.
 Adams, Charles F., 157.
 Adams, John, 149.
 Adams, John Q., 157.
 Adams, Samuel, 92, 93, 126, 128, 135,
 158, 191; lease, 92, 93.
 Admiral Vernon Tavern, 88.
 Albany, 36; horses, 37.
 Allen, Captain, 38, 39.
 America, 3, 4, 5, 8, 50, 77.
 American Coffee House, 88.
 American colonies, 9.
 Amsterdam, 25.
 Ancient and Honorable Artillery, 67, 101,
 207.
 Anderson, Arthur E., 165.
 Ann, Cape, 41.
 Ann Street, 88.
 Antigua, 32, 36.
 Apthorp, Charles, 84.
 Apthorp, East, 9.
 Armitage, Joner, 81.
 Ashburton, Lord, 159.
 Atlantic Ocean, 50.
 Atwood, Rev. J. M., 206.

 Babcock, Abram, 158.
 Badger & Sons, 136.
 Bagard, Peter, 14.
 Baker, Samuel, 27, 30, 35, 43.
 Baker, William, 27, 30, 43.
 Barbadoes, 36, 38, 39, 59, 111.
 Barcelona, 42.
 Barnes, Thomas, 14.
 Barré, Colonel Isaac, 126, 132.
 Batchelder, Francis, 218.

 Baxter, Daniel, 158.
 Beauchamp, Isaac, 39.
 Belcher, Andrew, 48.
 Belcher, Governor, 36, 49.
 Belcher, Jonathan, 47.
 Belcher, Lady, 51.
 Belknap, Joseph, 88.
 Bernard, Governor, 127, 140.
 Bernon, Gabriel, 4, 6.
 Bethune family, 115.
 Bethune, Mary, 119.
 Bethune, Mrs., 114.
 Bigelow, Benjamin, 95.
 Bigelow, Samuel, 119.
 Billings, Samuel, 158.
 Bird, Harrison, 204.
 Black, J. B., 205.
 Blanchard, Joshua, 83, 85, 87.
 Boston, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 25, 29, 41, 43, 45,
 49, 50, 51, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68, 70,
 71, 86, 91, 100, 114.
 Boston Common, 58, 60, 64, 67, 72, 85,
 88.
 Boston, description of, 4, 5.
Boston Evening Post, 98.
Boston Gazette, 98, 126.
 Boston Massacre, 56, 128.
Boston News Letter, 98.
 Boston poor, 142.
 Boston street lamps, 140.
Boston Weekly Post Boy, 98.
 Boutineau, James, 14.
 Boutwell, Governor G. S., 161.
 Bowdoin, James, 84.
 Boyden, Ann Jane, 78.
 Boylston, John, 141.

- Boyltins, Hendrine, 26.
 Brattle Street Meeting House, 82.
 Brighton, 114.
 Brimbecom, N., 203.
 Bristol, England, 18.
 British Coffee House, 88.
 Bronellian, M., 39.
 Brown, Abijah, 150.
 Bryant, John, 141.
 Buck and Breeches, 88.
 Buckley, Captain Peter, 32.
 Bulfinch, Charles, 152, 153, 154, 165.
 Bulkley, Bishop, 87.
 Bunch of Grapes, 88.
 Bureau, Anne, 12.
 Burgoyne, General, 131, 142.
 Burlingame, Hon. Anson, 161.
 Burnet, William, 63, 64.
 Burrell, Lemuel, 144.
 Butlers' Rowe, 120.
 Butler Square, 9.
 Butterfield, D. E., 203.
 Byles sisters, 51.
 Cadiz, 42.
 Callinder, Joseph, 171.
 Canary Islands, 42.
 Cape Breton, 39.
 Caswell, John, 35.
 Centre Market, 83, 88.
 Chandler, Prof. F. W., 165.
 Chapman, Jonathan, 153.
 Chardon, Peter, 84, 109.
 Charles IX., 3.
 Charles River Bridge, 151.
 Charlestown, 67, 142.
 Chatham Street, 173.
 Child, David W., 158.
 Childs, Nathaniel, 206.
 Christmas, 7.
 Church, Old South, 115, 116.
 Cincinnati, 10.
 Clark, Benjamin, 193.
 Clark, John T., 206.
 Clark, Jonas, 81, 83, 93.
 Clinton Street, 173.
 Coattery, Henry, 95.
 Cobb, Samuel C., Mayor, 205.
 Cochran, Captain, 23.
 Codfish emblem, 76, 149.
 Codman, Stephen, 153.
 Coffin, William, 83.
 Coggswell, J. B. D., 206.
 Cold Storage, Eastern, 218.
 Cold Storage, Quincy Market, 218.
 Collson, David, 81.
 Colman pears, 47.
 Colman, Rev. Benjamin, 25, 70, 207.
 Conrod, Captain, 61.
 Conway, Field Marshal, 132.
 Conway, Right Honorable General, 126.
 Cook, Justice Elisha, 61.
 Cook, Mr., 83.
 Cook, Middlock, 93.
 Coolidge, Harry, 145.
 Cooper, Rev. Dr., 96.
 Cooper, Samuel, 138.
 Cornhill, 113.
 Cossart, John, & Sons, 31.
 Cossart, Peter, wife of, 9, 25.
 Cossart, Susannah, 25.
 Cradle of Liberty, 123-124, 166.
 Crosby, Frank, 196.
 Cudworth, Rev. W. H., 205, 206.
 Cunningham, Captain Nathaniel, 84.
 Curtis, J. Herman, 199, 204.
 Cushing, Thomas, 124.
 Cushman, Miss Sara E., 180.
 Cutler, Dr. John, 61.
 Cutler, Mary, 16.
 Cutler, Rev. Mr., 22.
 Cutler, Timothy, D.D., 22, 63.
 Cutting, Abraham, 95.
 Daillé, Rev. Pierre, 7.
 Dalancy of New York, 30.
 Dalrymple, Colonel, 127.
 Dana, Caleb, 92, 93.
 Dana, Daniel, 95.
 Danvers, 86.
 Dartmouth, 41.
 Da Silva, 41.
 Dates, confusion of, 114.
 Davenport, Addington, 14, 22, 37, 120.
 Davenport, Mrs. Anne, 121.
 Davis, Moses, 93.

- Dawes, Mr., 96.
 Dawes, Thomas, 97.
 Deering, Henry, 36.
 De Lacroix, Abraham, wife of, 9, 27.
 De Lacroix, Susannah F., 14, 26, 27.
 De Lacroix, Theodore, 14.
 Depuistre, John, 36.
 Deshon, Moses, 86.
 D'Estaing, Count, 123, 132, 147.
 Devonshire Street, 14.
 Doane, Isaiah, 113.
 Dock Square, 70, 72, 81, 83, 86, 96, 100.
 Dock Square Market, 94.
 Doe, Freeman G., 204.
 Donations to Boston poor, 142.
 Dorchester, 67.
 Dorchester Neck, 60.
 Dow, Edward, 93.
 Dowse, Joseph, 109.
 Drowne, Deacon Shem, 136, 137.
 Drowne, Shem, romance, 138.
 Drowne, Thomas, 137.
 Dudley, Paul, 74.
 Dummer, Governor, 57, 58, 61.
 Dupee, Isaac, 192.
 Dymoke, Edward, 42.

 East India Co., 128.
 Eden, Abraham and Egbert, 14.
 Edict of Nantes, 3, 8.
 Election Day, 90.
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 10.
 England, 3, 18, 49, 54, 56, 74, 77.
 English, Thomas, 119, 120.
 Episcopal Charitable Society, 37.
 Everett, Governor Edward, 212.

 Faneuil, Andrew, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 22, 46, 48, 49, 116.
 Faneuil, Anne, 12, 14, 26, 35; arms, 31, 86, 117; child in home, 22; death, 23; funeral, 23; illness, 22; uncle, 15; wife, 8; will, 24, 27.
 Faneuil, Benjamin (elder), 6, 12, 17, 26, 62, 63, 108, 110, 114.
 Faneuil, Benjamin, 12, 15, 16, 24, 25, 27, 48, 55; in Brighton, 115, 117, 118; and General Washington, 119.
 Faneuil, Benjamin, Jr., 17, 102, 129; died, 120.
 Faneuil Hall, 10, 88, 89, 90, 97, 98, 121, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 135; accepted, 84; African preacher, 135; architect, 87; banquet to John Adams, 135; barracks, 127; benevolence, 200; bricks, 86; burned, 96; celebrations, 201; corner-stone, 174; cost, 155; Cradle of Liberty, 124; custodians, 215; described, 88, 181; enlarged, 153; erection, 83; feasts, 132, 134; finished, 84; fireproof, 165, 166, 167, 168; first clerk, 191; glass, 88; granite, 171; grasshopper, 87, 136; illuminated, 125, 126, 133; in Revolution, 139; investment, 20, 21, 215; lease, 92; lottery, 96, 97, 98, 99, 133; named, 85, 117, 177; New England forum, 88; occupied, 86; officials, 189; opening, 179; orators, 159; oratory, 156, 163; ornaments, 123; picture of, 99, 100; poem, 162; portraits, 131, 132, 159, 160; post-office, 159; rebuilt, 99, 124, 165; semi-centennial, 201; sentiment, 166; shaken, 136; stalls, 140, 141, 144; stalls sold, 185; storehouse, 131; tea meetings, 128; theatre, 131; Tories, 120, 132; town-meetings, 123, 129, 158; trials, 127.
 Faneuil Hall Market, 70, 90, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100.
 Faneuil, Peter, estate, 108, 109, 111, 113; friend of Governor Shirley, 202; from 12 to 50, death, 101, 102.
 Faneuil, Peter, Esq., 28, 37, 101, 104, 177; jolly bachelor, 46, 47, 51, 52, 55, 109, 110; funeral oration, 104; gift, 104, 207; hospitality, 37, 112; obituary, 103; pictures, 85, 115, 121, 133; smugglers, 44.
 Faneuils, 11, 43; banished, 115; carriage, 53; Catherine, 13; equipage, 36; family, 9, 15, 42, 59, 87, 109, 118; fish pond, 119; Francis, 12; hearth-stone, 80; heirs, 115; home, 15, 28, 32, 37, 50, 51; house, 55, 110; hot-house, 47; John, 9, 12, 25, 62; Marie, 12, 59, 60, 121; mansion, 31, 50, 60,

- 110; Mary Ann, 15, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 87, 102, 109, 121, 160; Mary, daughter of Benjamin, 17; merchants, 15; mourning rings, 114; paper makers, 118; pew, 49; refugees, 121; Susannah, 13, 26, 35, 121; trade in negroes, 45; tomb, 115, 116; warehouse, 13, 47; wharf, 50.
- Farnum, Henry, 203.
- Faxon, Nathaniel, 144.
- Fennelley, Robert, 158.
- Fessenden, Jonathan, 93.
- Fette family, 116.
- Finney, S. B., 206.
- Fitch, Jeremiah, 158.
- Fitch, Thomas, 70.
- Fletcher, J. V., 203, 218.
- Fonnereau, Claude, 21, 43.
- Forestalling, 146.
- Forsyth, Alexander, 81.
- Foy, Captain John, 4.
- France, 2, 3, 9, 18, 26, 28, 60, 63, 64, 67.
- Francis I., 2.
- Francis II., 2.
- Frankland, Sir Henry, 14, 15.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 141.
- Fraser, W. Lewis, 114.
- Freeland, Mary de Witt, 6.
- French church, 24, 25.
- French exiles, 7.
- French Protestants, 5, 8.
- French refugees, 5.
- Frog Pond, 72.
- Frothingham, Hon. Richard, 196.
- Funeral rites, 7.
- Furber, W. II. II., 203.
- Gage, General, 142.
- Gage, Governor, 120.
- Gage, Thomas, 129.
- Gallagher, Christian, 134.
- George, King, 4, 8; II., 126.
- Gibbs, Rev. C. W., 206.
- Gibbs's Wharf, 60.
- Gleason, Winsor, 204.
- Golden Fleece Tavern, 88.
- Gooch, Jonathan, 102.
- Gooch, William, clerk of market, 194.
- Gore, Eben, 93.
- Gore, Samuel, 127.
- Granary Burying Ground, 24, 56, 87, 101, 115, 117.
- Grasshopper Market, 136.
- Grasshopper Vane, 123.
- Gravestones, old, 56.
- Gray, Harrison G., 80.
- Gray, Joseph, 191.
- Great Britain, 26.
- Greenow, Captain, 39.
- Groton, Conn., 59.
- Guild, Curtis, 206.
- Hager, Elisha, 95.
- Hall, Stacy, 203.
- Hammond, John, 95.
- Hancock, Governor, 134, 148.
- Hancock, John, 98, 126, 128, 132, 147, 158, 211.
- Hancock mansion, 149.
- Hancock, Mrs. T., 51.
- Hancock pasture, 72.
- Hancock, Thomas, 29, 36, 89, 93, 100, 118.
- Harris, Henry, 63.
- Harris, Thomas B., 197.
- Hart, Mayor Thomas N., 216; photograph, autograph, 217.
- Hartwell, D. C., 204.
- Harvard College, 59.
- Hatch, Colonel Estes, 60.
- Haverhill, 53, 54.
- Hawley Street, 15.
- Hayward, Caleb, 194.
- Henchman, Daniel, 118.
- Henry III., 3.
- Henry IV., 3.
- Henshaw, Joshua, 126.
- Hewes, George R. J., 145.
- Hewes, Shubael, 145.
- Hiland, Ira, 204.
- Hildreth, John, 144.
- Hiller, Attorney-general, 62.
- Hill, Walter L., 218.
- Hirst Grove, 120.
- Hiscock, L. B., 203.
- Hodgson, Anthony, 90.

- Holden, Ebenezer, 204.
 Holden, Oliver, 201.
 Holland, 3, 8, 26.
 Holmes, O. W., 7.
 Homas, John, 35.
 Hooper, Silas, 14.
 Houchin, Jeremy, 190.
 Houghton & Dutton, 29.
 Hovey, Horatio, 185.
 Hovey, William, 203.
 Howard, Frank W., 165.
 Howe, Captain William, 209.
 Howe, General, and negroes, 123, 135.
 Howe, General, 131, 132, 142.
 Huguenots, 1, 2, 6, 9, 88; church, 7, 8, 10; persecution, 9; sisters, 48.
 Hull, Captain, 157.
 Hungarian bond, 61.
 Hunnewell, Jonathan, 153.
 Hutchinson, Edward, 70, 84.
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 11, 81, 83, 84, 117, 128, 129.

 Inmans, 36.
 Invoice book, 12.
 Ireland, 3, 9.

 Jackson, I. D., 204.
 Jackson, Thomas, 90, 191.
 Jarvis, 93, 95.
 Jeffries, John, 81, 83.
 Jekyll, brothers, 50; collector, 50; family, 47, 49, 51, 55.
 Jekyll, Hannah, 47, 51, 53, 54.
 Jekyll, John, 42, 63.
 Jekyll, Joseph, 47, 54; ladies, 48.
 Jekyll, Jun., 49.
 Jekyll, Mary, 47, 51, 52, 54.
 Jekyll, Richard, 47, 53, 54.
 Jekyll, Robert, 49.
 Johnson, Henry, 26.
 Jonhonnort, Daniel, 77.
 Jonhonnort, Zacariah, 77.
 Jones, A. H., 204.
 Jones, John, 45.
 Judge Willard, 27.

 Keayne, Robert, 67, 70, 73, 207, 209, 214.
 Kent, Benjamin, 126.
 Kilby, Thomas, 45.
 Kimball, J. Frank, 218.
 King's Chapel, 14, 15, 29, 38; Burying Ground, 9.
 Kingston, Jamaica, 20.
 King Street, 14, 81, 88, 113, 128.
 Kittery, 36.
 Kneeland, Samuel, 61.
 Kossuth, Louis, 161.
 Krogman, Samuel B., 204.

 Lambert, William, 63.
 Lane, O. W., 201.
 Lane & Smithurst, 30, 32, 34, 35, 42.
 La Rochelle, 2.
 Law, duelling, 64.
 Lawrence, H. L., 204.
 Learnard, S. S., 203, 204.
 Lechmere, Thomas, 63, 102.
 Le Mercier, Andrew, 8.
 Lewis, Ezekiel, 97, 84.
 Limbery, William, 18, 19.
 Linnington, Lord, 52, 53.
 Little Cambridge, 141.
 Lloyd, Thomas, 20.
 London, 27, 30, 34, 35, 42, 73, 128.
 Longfellow, 69.
 Long Wharf, 60, 130.
 Loring, G. B., 206.
 Loring, Jonathan, 158.
 Louisburg, 86.
 Louis XIII., 3.
 Louis XVI., 135.
 Louis Philippe, 159.
 Lovell, John, 101, 104, 105.
 Lyman, Caleb, 81, 83.
 Lynch & Blake, 32.
 Lynch, Peter, 42.
 Lynn, 67.

 Madeira, 30, 42.
 Mallet, John, 10.
 Malmsey, 42.
 Marblehead, 41.
 Market bell, 68.
 Market clerk, 91.
 Market Cross, 68.

- Market day, 90.
 Market hours, 71.
 Market house, 80, 81, 87, 90.
 Market laws, 66, 189.
 Massachusetts, 6, 9, 41, 48.
 Massachusetts Bay, 77, 80.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, 134.
 Massacre, Boston, 128; victims of, 128.
 Massacre oration, 131.
 Mather, Rev. Samuel, 99, 124.
 Matthews, Mayor, 216.
 May, John, 153.
 Mayo, Thomas, 144.
 McKay, George E., Superintendent, 187,
 189, 196; picture, 196; autograph, 197.
 Medford, 36, 86, 142.
 Meeting House Hill, 74.
 Melvin, Joseph C., 218.
 Merchants' Row, 83, 88.
 Merriam, Nathaniel, 194.
 Middlesex Canal, 152.
 Milk Street, 15.
 Miller, Ebenezer, 64.
 Milton paper mill, 118.
 Morrison, C. E., 204.
 Mourning rings, 55.
 Murray, Rev. John, 130.

 Nadir, William, 102.
 Nazro, Matthew, 194.
 New Castle, N. H., 66.
 Newell, Deacon, 133.
 New England, 7, 41, 66, 75.
 New England Historical Genealogical
 Society, 86.
New England Weekly Journal, 58, 98.
 New Jersey, 41.
 New Rochelle, 7, 12, 47.
News Letter, Boston, 23, 43, 96, 98,
 103.
 New York, 6, 12, 30, 41, 42, 114.
 North Meeting House, 70.
 Nourse, Superintendent, 194.
 Nova Scotia garrison, 139.
 Noyes, Increase E., 203.
 Noyes, Oliver, 9.

 Old brick meeting house, 131.
 Old feather store, 88.
 Old South Church, 58.
 Old South Meeting House, 85, 87, 128,
 129, 130.
 Old State House, 88.
 Oliver, Andrew, 84.
 Oliver, Chief Justice, 122.
 Oliver, Ebenezer, 153.
 Orange Street, 48.
 Otis, James, 15, 99, 124, 127.
 Oxford, 6, 7.

 Palmer, Thomas, 70.
 Paper Manufacturing Company, 115, 118.
 Parke, Harvey D., 119.
 Parke, Jeremiah, 144.
 Parker House, 119.
 Parkman, Samuel, 119, 160.
 Parris, Alex., 176.
 Pemberton, Dr. George, 61.
 Pendergast, Thomas, 42.
 Pepperell, Lady Mary, 120.
 Pepperell, William, 36.
 Philadelphia, 41.
 Philbrook, Governor H., 204.
 Phillips, Gillam, 14, 26, 59, 60, 61, 62,
 118.
 Phillips, Henry, 57-64.
 Phillips, Madame Hannah, 62.
 Phillips, Marie, 14, 113, 121.
 Phillips, Mayor, 171.
 Phillips, Samuel, 60.
 Phillips, Wendell, 158.
 Phillips, William, Lieutenant-governor,
 113.
 Phipps, Samuel, 93.
 "Piepowder" court, 192.
 Pigot, George, 63.
 Pilgrim Fathers, 1.
 Pink, Molly, 60.
 Pitcher, Moses, 97.
 Polk, President, 194.
 Pope & Co., 29.
 Port Bill, 130, 141.
 Porter, William, 153.
 Portugal, 18.
 Powder House, Old, 10.
 Price, William, 109.

- Prince de Joinville, 159.
 Pritchard, Captain, 61.
Providence, ship, 18, 19, 44.
 Province House, 85.
 Pudding Lane, 14.
 Putnam, Israel, 142.
- Quay, Thomas, 20.
 Queen Street, 61, 87.
 Quincy Genealogy, 173.
 Quincy, Hon. Josiah, 205.
 Quincy, Josiah, Mayor, 166; picture and autograph, 167.
 Quincy, Josiah, 2d., Mayor, 171, 172; picture and autograph, 173.
 Quincy, Josiah, 89, 171.
 Quincy Market Cold Storage Co., 218.
 Quincy, Miss, 28.
- Reed, John, 95.
 Rehobuth, 4.
 Revolution, 99.
 Rhodes, Superintendent, 194.
 Rice, Alexander H., Governor, 205.
 Rice, Charles B., Superintendent, 195.
 Roaper, Silas, 14.
 Robbins, Nathan, 204.
 Roberts, Oliver Ayer, 101.
 Robinson, John, 95.
 Rochelle, France, 6, 9, 27, 62.
Rochelle, a ship, 30, 44.
 Ross, Henry F., 218.
 Row, Peter, 95.
 Rowe, John, 141.
 Roxbury, Rev. Mr., 8, 75.
 Royal Exchange, London, 28.
 Royall, Isaac, 36.
 Ruddock, John, 126.
 Ruggles, 84, 87.
 Russell, Benjamin, 171.
 Russell, Joseph, 153.
- Salem, 41, 67, 86.
 Salter, William, 93.
 Saltonstall, Colonel Richard, 54, 56.
 Saltonstall family, 55.
 Sargeant, Peter, 85.
 Sargeant, Colonel Henry, 160.
- Savage, Samuel P., 97.
 School House Lane, 8.
 School Street, 8.
 Sewall, Jonathan, 59.
 Sewall, Rev. Joseph, 58.
 Sewall, Samuel, 5, 7, 85, 97, 126.
 Sewall's, Judge, almanac, 58.
 "Sexton of Old School," 60, 62.
 Sheaf, William, 89.
 Shirley, Governor, 15, 126, 202.
Shurness, man-of-war, 62.
 Shurtleff, Historian, 59.
 Silva, Miguel, 20.
 Simons, Henry, 153.
 Slade, Charlotte, 214.
 Smibert, John, 83, 87, 153.
 Snider, Christopher, 127.
 Solomon, 37.
 Somerville, 10.
 Spain, 5.
 Squire, J. P., 204.
 Stamp Act, 76, 123, 125; repeal, 126, 139.
 Staniford, John, 91, 191.
 Stanley, David, 95.
 State House, 66, 68, 72.
 State Street, 9, 66.
 Steel, Captain John, 191.
 Steel, John, 70, 93.
 Steel, Thomas, 63.
 Stevens, James, 63.
 Stoddard, John, 95.
 Suffolk Bank, 29.
 Summer Street, 15.
 Sun Tavern, 61.
- Tailor, William, Esq., 63.
 Teneriffe, 42.
 Thacher, Oxenbridge, Esq., 124.
 Thacher, Peter, 171.
 Thompson, Captain, 53.
 Thompson, Robert, 5.
 Thornton, Timothy, 97.
 Thorrow, Samuel, 14.
 Ticknor, Elisha, 153.
 Tilden, David, 153.
 Tileston, Captain, 97.
 Tileston, John, 153.
 Tinkham, George E., 203.

- Tories, 140.
 Torrey, Everett, 197.
 Touton, John, 4.
 Town House, 88.
 Tremont Street, 9, 29, 37, 46, 55, 78, 87.
 Trinity Church, 14, 15, 22, 37, 114, 118.
 Trinity churchyard, 6.
 Two-penny-brook Quarry, 10.
 Tyler, Royal, 124.

 Vane, Grasshopper, 123.
 Vassal family, 113.
 Vassals, 36.
 Verplanck, Julian, 14, 30, 35, 41, 42.
 "Videna," 42.
 Vinal, E., 136.

 Wadsworth, Josiah, 93.
 Waitt, William, 93.
 Waldo, Samuel, 84.
 Walker, Benjamin R., 101.
 Wallace, G. L., 193.
 Ward, Joseph, 36, 38.
 Warrant for town-meeting, 80.
 Washington, General, 115, 133.
 Washington Street, 8, 48.
 Water first in Boston, 201.
 Waters, Josiah, 97.
 Watertown, 67.

 Watson, James, 70, 191.
 Webster, Hon. Daniel, 9, 158.
 Weedon's History, 41.
 Wells, Samuel, 9, 158.
 Wendall, Jacob, 70, 84.
 Wendall, Jno., 102.
 Wentworth, Governor, 36.
 West Boston Bridge, 151.
 West Indies, 20, 73.
 Wheelwright, Jno., 102.
 White, Elijah, 144.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 124.
 Whiting, Nathaniel, 93.
 Whittier, J. G., 162.
 Wild, Paul, 179.
 Williams, Eliphalet, 158.
 Willoughby, Francis, 70, 191.
 Winchester, Israel, 92.
 Windham, Conn., 130.
 Winship, Jonathan, 141.
 Winslow, Captain John, 60, 61.
 Winslow, Joshua, 102.
 Winthrop, Governor John, 63.
 Winthrop, Hon. Adams, 84.
 Woodbridge, Benjamin, 57, 58, 61, 64;
 S. F., 203.
 Woodbury & Leighton, 165.
 Worthly, Frank, 9, 136.
 Wright, Francis, 153.

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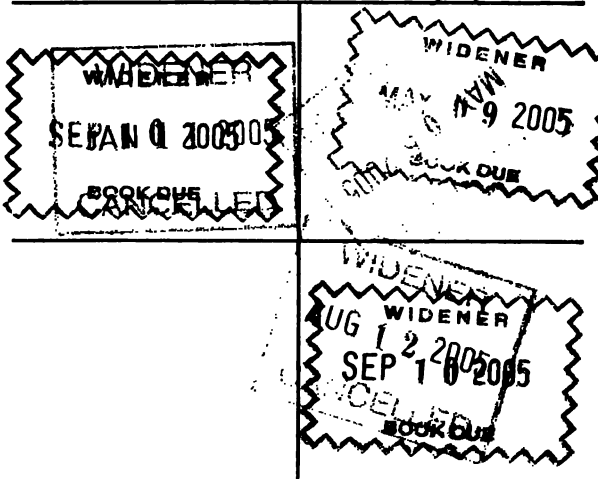


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